

Panjabi Sufi Poets

A.D. 1460-1900

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Forward:

Punjabi poetry has its own charm. Its language is more archaic than Hindi or Urdu; its imagery is drawn from country life and simple crafts. One might make a comparison with the Provençal poetry of Southern France. Provençal also is more old-fashioned than French; its poetry belongs to the countryside, to the farm, and tiny market town, and is instinct with a simplicity and sincerity that is rare in the more classical language. Panjabi poetry sings mainly of Love and God. By the Sufis these two themes are interwoven, as is explained in the Introduction.

This book presents us with studies of a series of Sufi poets of the Punjab who wrote in the Punjabi language. They begin with the second of the fifteenth century and end with the nineteenth. In this period of some four centuries we find half a dozen famous saints beginning with Farid, twelfth in spiritual succession from Shakar Ganj of Pak Patan, and leading on to several others not so well known. The greatest of them all was Bullhe Shah (1650- 1758).

For these studies Miss L. Rama Krishna has ransacked a great mass of material,—manu scri pts, printed poems, oral traditions, and such few essays as have been published on any of these poets.

The historical evidence she has handled cautiously and she arrives at very reasonable conclusions.

By a judicious selection of extracts, carefully transliterated and rendered in a literal but pleasing translation, the author brings out the main characteristics of each poet in turn, both as regards verse and style and as regards the doctrine or mystery he teaches. They vary from the orthodox, with a strong spiritual urge towards mysticism, to the lees orthodox and to those who so far transcend the barriers between sects and creeds that they can hardly be designated by the conventional man-made labels.

The history of the Punjab during these four centuries has seen many storms and also peaceful interludes. These vicissitudes are reflected in the Sufi poets though faintly. Yet for the comprehension of the period an understanding of this religious development is of great importance.

In Punjabi poetry the Beloved is a man and the Lover who seeks him is a woman. So in the Sufi sense Heer is the soul that seeks and Ranjha represents the Divine Beloved.

In this book Truth is the ideal pursued along the dusty tracks of research by a Punjabi woman.

A. C. Woolner

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Preface:

This thesis is a humble attempt to discuss in a brief but comprehensive manner the Sufi poets who wrote in the Punjabi language. The evidence on which I have based my research was of four kinds:

1. Manuscripts found in public and private libraries.
2. Printed and lithographed books in English, Punjabi, Urdu, and Persian.
3. Accounts furnished by the *gaddi-nisheens*.
4. Recitals of the *kavvalis*¹ and oral traditions.

The last-mentioned source, though very rich, is full of accretions and abounds in legendary narratives. I have utilized the information furnished by it with great care. It has served rather to verify facts than otherwise.

This is the first work on Panjabi Sufi poets in English or in any other language. Though, as I have mentioned below, a few articles and booklets have been written on some of the poets treated in this thesis, yet no book or article has been written on the Sufi poets collectively. My attempt has been to appreciate Sufi beliefs and interpret Sufi poetry as they are understood by the Sufis and the Punjabis. I have tried to discuss them as methodically as possible.

The sources for the life-history and poetry of each Writer have been given at the end of each chapter. In the case of those poets for whose life and poetry the sources are meager, the information has been given in the footnotes.

Punjabi is a language written in three different scripts, i.e. Persian, Hindi and Gurmukhi. The Muhammadans who employ the Persian script give a Persian or Arabic character to the language, and the Hindus who employ Hindi somewhat sanskritize it. The Sikhs, though

they sometimes insert Sanskrit words and phrases, on the whole try to write the language as it is spoken by the masses.

In the midst of this diversity, the work of transliteration has not been easy. The originals from which I have quoted were written in different scri pts, often full of miss-spellings, and it has been extremely difficult to decide on the appropriate roman spelling. The same word has frequently occurred in different connexions; therefore it has not been possible to keep always to the same spelling.

For technical non-Punjabi Sufi terms and names I have generally followed the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* and for old Sufi and Islamic names the Urdu system of transliteration. These names, after all, are not Punjabi and are written as in Urdu.

The names of living people I have spelt as they do when writing in English, believing that every person has the right to spell his name as he likes.

The names of books in Indian languages have been spelt according to the system of transliteration, of the language in which each book is written.

For geographical names I have followed the current English system in India with a few rare exceptions. For example ‘Punjab’ has three different forms and in order to maintain a uniform character I have throughout this work spelt it as ‘Punjab’.

For the transliteration of the Panjabi verse I have employed Dr T. Grahame Bailey’s dictionary, except for a. few regional words.

For oriental words in the English translations of the original text, I have mostly followed the Punjabi pronunciation of the educated classes.

Before I close, I should say that I am highly indebted to my teacher, Dr T. Grahame Bailey, for his very kind suggestions and valuable advice throughout the work, but especially in the translation of the quotations from Punjabi poetry.

The following is the complete list of the order followed in rendering the vowels and consonants for transliteration of the Punjabi poems:

¹- Hereditary singers or musicians often attached to the tombs of the Sufi saints, who recite compositions of the mystics and their own poems p ease of the saints.

Introduction:

I. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SUFIISM OUTSIDE INDIA

No account of Punjabi Sufism, its poets and poetry, will be complete without a short sketch of the origin and development of Sufism outside India. Punjabi Sufism, evidently, is a branch of the great Sufi movement which originated in Arabia, during the second century A.H. (A.D. 800).¹ It differs a good deal, however, in details, from the original, being subjected to many modifications under the influence of Hindu religious and philosophic thought. Before following up the evolution and the final trend of Sufi thought in the Punjab, it is necessary to review briefly the outstanding features of this Islamic sect as it developed outside India.

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Sufism was born soon after the death of the Prophet and 'proceeded on orthodox lines'.² Its adepts had ascetic tendencies, led hard lives, practicing the tenets of the *Qur'an* to the very letter. But this asceticism soon passed into mysticism, and before the end of the second century A.H. (A.D. 815), these ascetics began to be known to the people as Sufis³. The name was given to them because they wore woolen garments. The term, *labisa'l-suf*, which formerly meant 'he clad himself in wool', and was applied to a person who renounced the world and became an ascetic⁴, henceforward signified that he became a Sufi⁵.

The early mysticism was essentially a product of Islam⁶, and originated as a consequence of the Islamic conception of God which failed to satisfy many persons possessing spiritual tendencies. The two striking factors in the early mysticism, as Goldziher has stated⁷, were an exaggerated consciousness of sin and an overwhelming dread of divine retribution. They feared God more than they loved Him and submitted unreservedly to His Will⁸. But in the beginning of the second century A.H (A.D 815) the Sufi thought began to develop under the influence of Greek philosophy of Ashrakian⁹ and Dionysius.¹⁰ Christianity, itself enveloped by Neo-Platonist speculations, exercised a great influence in monastic organizations

and discipline.¹¹ Hebrew philology¹², to a certain extent, helped the progress of the technical vocabulary. But the Greek influence seems to have been the most powerful, because, besides philosophical ideas, the Sufis borrowed from the Greeks the medical science which they named *yunani* or the Greek system.¹³ Neo-Platonism developed intellectual tendencies. The civil wars and dry dogmas of the '*ulama* soon drove the intellectual Sufis to skepticism¹⁴. They searched elsewhere for truth and knowledge. The search was not in vain; and soon a new school was established, different from the one already existing. It was greatly influenced by Persian religion and Indian thought, both Buddhist and Hindu.¹⁵

The adherents of the new school were almost all of non-Semitic origin, their national characters were formed by the climatic and geographical position of their countries,¹⁶ and so, in spite of Semitic masters, the psychology of their own race affected their new faith. To them the doctrines of Islam seemed unphilosophic and non-gnostic, and so they felt compelled to interpret them in the light of their old faiths with which they had been in touch and which appealed to them deeply. Thus later Sufism was also a psychological reaction of different peoples, especially the Persians, against the dogmas of Islam.

The latest school of Sufiism which felt Persian and Indian influences and incorporated different glosses of Buddhism with its creed came in the forefront under Bayazid of Bistam, who was not attached to any old Sufi school.¹⁷ Bistami's system was based on *fana* or absolute annihilation in the Divine.¹⁸ Bayazid was so captivated by the Vedantic conception of God that he used to say: 'Glory to me, how my glory is great.'¹⁹

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This school developed still further under Mansur al-Hallaj, who invented the formula *Ana' l-Haqq*.²⁰ This Sufiism transformed the Buddhist legends and panegyrics and introduced them into Islam, In Central Asia, where Buddhist legends were congealed around the saints, Sufiism evolved a cult of saints. Pilgrimage, another Buddhist practice, was also introduced. Besides this, Sufism borrowed the *Tariqa* or *Tariqat* from the same source. Before being *fana*, the Sufi seeker must tread by slow stages the *Tariqat* or the path to reach *Haqiqat* or *Haqiqat*, Reality, or the goal of Union. The path comprised seven stages:

repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God, and satisfaction.²¹

The Sufis of the Bayazid School were tolerant towards all and attached little importance to Islamic dogmas. They were, therefore, considered heretics and were often hanged or exiled.²² This alarmed the adherents of the new Sufi thought and induced them to retrace their steps and reenter the fold of the old Sufi school. The Sufis in general were not popular with the powerful orthodox. To avoid the fury of the orthodox and to save their lives, all the Sufis thenceforward recognized Muhammad as their ideal and tried to deduce their thought from the allegorical sayings of the *Qur'an*.²³

1. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 10.

2. Nicholson in J.R.A.S., Vol. XXXVIII, 1906.

3. J.R.A.S., Vol XXXVIII, 1906, p. 305.

4. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 10. E.B Havell, however is of opinion that the word *urna*, which in Buddhist images was the symbol of 'eye divine', literally meant 'wool'. His symbolic explanation may underline the symbol of Sufiism, *suf* meaning wool. See *Ideas of Indian Art*, pp. 50-1.

5. *ibid*

6. Its roots according to Macdonald run far back to heathen Arabia. See *Muslim Theology*, pp. 124,125.

7. As quoted by Nicholson in his article (J. R. S. A., Vol. XXXVIII, 1906). The original can be seen in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 35

8. As ordained in the *Qur'an*.

9. Munshi Fani, *Dabistan*, Vol. III, p. 281. Shea and Troyler translated it as 'Platonists'.

10. Nicholson in J. R. S. A., Vol. XXXVIII, 1906, p. 318.

11. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Vol. XII, p. 11.

12. Massignon, *Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane*, pp. 51, 52, 53, 54.

13. Rama Krishna, *Les Sikhs*, ch. I, p. 18.

14. These scri pts were mostly of non-Arabic origin, the majority being Persians and kurds.

15. Professor Massignon is vehemently hostile to any Hindu influence and ignores traces of Buddhism. The admirable way in which the learned professor attempts to interpret Sufiism, i.e. only on a philological basis, is one-sided. His knowledge of Hinduism is not very deep and so his mind is prejudiced against Hindu thought. For Buddhist influence, see *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, and Nicholson's works.

16. Climate and geographical position, according to Nöldeke, the German scholar, are two very important factors in the formation of national character. See *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 2.

17. *Lexique Technique*, p. 243.

18. He learnt *Fana bi'l tawhid* from his teacher Abu Ali Sindi (or of Sind) to whom, in exchange, he taught the Hanefite canonical law (see *Lexique Technique*, pp. 263.4), Nicholson also mentions this fact (see *The mystics of Islam*, p. 17).

19. *Lexique Technique*, p. 246.

20. This is the equivalent of *Aham Brahm*.

21. Nicholson, *the Mystics of Islam*. p. 29. The Sufi teachers do not agree as to the number of the stages. Most of them enumerate more than seven.

22. Bistami was exiled many times from his native town (see *Lexique Technique*, p. 247) and Manur al-Hallaj was crucified (Massignon. *La Passion*, I, pp. 9-10).

23. Bayazid openly declared himself the equal of the Prophet and ridiculed the Day of Resurrection, the Judgment, and the Qur'anic paradise. See *Lexique Technique*, pp. 252-3.

II. THE SUFIS IN INDIA

After the Muslim conquest of northern India, the Sufis began to pour into the country. This was the only peaceful, friendly and tolerant element of Islam. The Islam promulgated by the sword¹ and by aggressive '*ulama* and *qazis* could not impress the Hindus who abhorred it. But the Islam represented by the Sufis appealed to them. Almost all the willing conversions were no doubt the result of Sufi preaching.

Development of Sufism in the Panjab

In the beginning, the Sufis in northern India were preachers and often joined hands with the rulers to establish their power and to convert the people to Islam.² Their patience, tolerance and friendly spirit brought them followers from the lower grades of the Hindus, unfortunately neglected by the higher classes. To this class of Sufis belonged Faridu'ddin Ganj-i-Shakar, 'All Makhdum Hujwiri, and many others. But, later on, many Sufis gave up missionary work³ and devoted themselves to the study of different religious systems and philosophies of the country. Mia Mir, Prince Dara Shikoh and Abu'l-Fazl and Fayzi belonged to this category of Sufis; they began to question the superiority of their own religion or to deny its authority.⁴ Mia Mir is said to have helped Guru Har Govind many a time and to have sent him a woman, related to the Qazi of Lahore, who liked the Guru's doctrines and had wanted to become a Sikh.⁵

Sufiism underwent another considerable change towards the end of the seventeenth century. The intolerance of Aurangzeb and of his adherents had so much affected the spiritually and the intellectually minded amongst the Sufis that they were driven towards Hinduism more than before.⁶ Hindu Vedantic thought overpowered their beliefs. Bhagvatism influenced their ideas, and it was a surprising fact that in the Panjab, the stronghold of Islam, Mussulman mystics held the view that save God there was no reality; all else, therefore, became illusion or the Hindu maya.⁷

The doctrine of transmigration and reincarnation was soon adopted and was afterwards supplemented by the theory of *karma*.⁸ Again

Muhammad, who remained the perfect model of Man for the Sufis of other countries, was not necessarily the ideal of the Panjabi Sufis. The philosophically-minded sometimes ignored him, at other times allotted to him the same place as they gave to the prophets of other religions.⁹ For the orthodox and popular Sufis he nevertheless remained somewhat higher than the other prophets, but not in the same way as before. He became the hero of their poetry as Krishna is the hero of the Bhagavata-lore.¹⁰ The condemnation of idols, which had not been very vehement even in the sixteenth century, ceased altogether now. Muhammadan mystics accepted them as another way of adoring the Universal Lord¹¹ The Sufis often abstained from eating meat and practiced the doctrine of *ahimsa* by loving all life, animal and human.¹²

The *Qur'an*, which could not be dispensed with and was held in great veneration by the early Sufis, was now placed on the same level with the Vedas and the Puranas.¹³

Last but not the least, it should be mentioned here that the principle of religious tolerance was advocated by many mystics who denounced fanaticism and admitted freedom of religious beliefs.¹⁴

The above were the new developments in Sufiism on Panjabi soil. They were, however not the chief characteristics of every Sufi's teachings. These new developments, on the other hand, helped in the classification of the Sufis. The Sufis of the Panjab may be classed into three schools of thought:

I. *The Orthodox School*—The Sufis of this school believed in conversion from one religion to another. They held that the *Qur'an* was the best book revealed and that Muhammad was God's greatest prophet on earth. Though they tolerated different religions, yet they believed Islam to be the only true creed. To this class of Sufis belonged Farid Sani and Ali Haidar.

2. *Time Philosophic School* — The Sufis of the philosophic school were speculators and thinkers. They had absorbed the essence of Vedanta so well that to them differences of religion, country, and sect were immaterial. They abhorred regulations and the dry dogmas of all

religions. They displayed best the essence of pantheistic Sufiism. They ignored conversion, and were chiefly responsible for establishing unity between the faithful of various religions. Bullhe Shah belonged to this school.

3. *The Popular School*— The adherents of this school were men of little or no education. These people collected the beliefs and superstitions of various creeds, and preached and practiced them. Muhammad remained their only Prophet and the *Qur'an* their best book, but they provided a place for all other prophets and teachers in their long list of saints and angels. They were popular with the lower classes of both Hindus and Muslims. To the Hindus they preached the *Qur'an* and the superstitions of Islam, while to the Muhammadans they preached the popular beliefs and superstitions of both. As they were apt to change with the times and conditions, they were dangerous equally to Islam and to Hinduism. To this class belonged Fard Faqir and many others.

Panjabi Sufi Poetry

The Sufis of the Panjab, like the Sufis of other parts of India, wrote for centuries together in the Persian language.¹⁵ They copied the phraseology, the similes, and, in fact, the whole system of Persian prosody and rhetoric in its entirety. Later on, the Sufis began to write in Urdu. But this Urdu looked for guidance to Persia and was so much overlaid by Persian vocabulary, phraseology, and *jeux de mots*,¹⁶ that it was really Persian diluted by an Indian language. The national culture was thus paralyzed, and national sentiments and thoughts were allotted a secondary place in their compositions. It was only in the middle of the fifteenth century that the initiative to write in the language of the people, i.e. Panjabi, was taken by a saint of the Cishti order of the Sufis.¹⁷ This initiator was Shaikh Ibrahim Farid, a descendant of Faridu'ddin Ganj-i-Shakar of Pak Patan. His example was followed by many, of whom Lal Husain, Sultan Bahu, Bullhe Shah, Ali Haidar, and Hashim are the outstanding and well-known figures. A considerable amount of fragmentary Panjabi Sufi poetry, of various authorship, has also been found.¹⁸ A few of these poems contain the names of the writers, but not much more. We will speak of this poetry elsewhere.

The Ideal of the Sufi Poet

The ideal of the Panjabi mystic poet was to find God in all His creation and thus attain union with Him. Thus union or annihilation in God was to be fully achieved after death, but in some cases it was gained while living.¹⁹ The Panjabi Sufi, like any other mystic in the world, calls God his Beloved. But the Beloved, who in Islamic countries was both masculine and feminine,²⁰ here became masculine.

In Panjabi Sufi poetry, therefore, God is the Beloved and the Sufi, or the human soul, the woman separated from her lover by illusion or maya. The Sufi soul at times wails, then cries and yearns for union with the Beloved. The Sufi poet in the Panjab generally refers to three stories of perfect love in his poetry. They are the love tales of Hir Ranjha, Sassi Punnu, and Sohni Mahival,²¹ These tales of perfect love which end tragically are popular with all Panjabis.

In all the three, the heroines, Hir, Sassi and Sohni, who spent their lives in sorrow, always yearning to meet their respective lovers, were united with them in death. For a Sufi these tales²² have a spiritual significance. The heroines stand for the Sufi (the soul) and the heroes for God (the Beloved sought). After the Sufi has attained union with God he is no more Hir²³ but becomes Ranjha, because for him all differences vanish away and he sees Ranjha (God) as much in his own self as in the external world. The Sufi poetry consequently is full of poems, songs, and hymns praising the Beloved, describing the pain and sorrow inflicted by separation, and ultimately the joy, peace and knowledge attained in the union.

1. The bold assertion of Professor Massignon that 'ce n'est pas par les guerres que l' Islam a diffuse dans l' Inde, c'est par les mystiques et par les grands ordres, Tshishtiyah Kobrawiyah, Shattariyah et Naqshbandiyah' (Lexique Technique, p. 68) shows his scanty knowledge of Indian history.

2. Shaikh Ali Makhdam Hujwiri generally known as Data Ganj Bakhsh followed the arms of Masa'ud, son and successor of Mahmud Ghaznavi to Lahore, where he settled down to preach. (See Latif, History of Lahore, pp. 179-82.) There are many such examples.

3. Mr. Zuhurud-Din Ahmad, in his Mystic Tendencies in Islam, p. 142, Out of the later Sufis very few appear to have given any thought to this practical aspect (conversion) of

the doctrine of Islamic Sufism.

4. Emperor Akbar is another example; his faith in the superiority of Islam was so much shattered that he founded a new religion. Din-i-Ilahi.
5. See Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 256.
6. No doubt the Sufis during the reign of Shah Jahan, under the patronage of Prince Dara Shikoh, had absorbed a good deal of Hindu Vedantic thought, but they remained, save for a few rare exceptions, within the limits of their own religion. The intolerance of the orthodox people and of the Emperor Aurangzeb, however, later on compelled them to Islamic dogmas, etc., and to turn more towards Hindu religion with real feeling than they had done before. Both Inayat and Bullhe Shah were born during this period.
7. Dabistan, Vol. III. p. 281.
8. Kanun-i-'Ishq. Vol. I, kafi 2 and 37. 'The doctrine of karma which is alien to Sufism' (The Mystics of Islam, p. 19) became now one of its doctrines.
9. See the poetry of Bullhe Shah, especially kafi 90 of Sai Bullhe Shah.
10. See the Baramah of Karim Bakhsh, ch. ix.
11. Sahibjani, a celebrated Sufi of the seventeenth century, performed the puja in the house of idols (Dabistan, Vol. III. p. 302). The Panjabi Sufi fortunately did not go to that extreme but considered both temple and mosque the same. When he had attained the stage of understanding he even ceased to go to the mosque. His temple and mosque were every where. See Bullhe Shah. Qanun-i-ishq. kafi 58.
12. Dabistan, Vol. III. p. 302.
13. Qanun-i-ishq. kafi 76.
14. See the work of Bahu and Bullhe Shah
15. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb. Vol. 111, p. 387.
16. The grammatical system, however, was Indian.
17. With the exception of a few poems ascribed to Shakar Ganj, no trace of Sufi poetry is found before Ibrahim Farid. The poems said to be of Shakar Ganj are, as we shall see later on, not his.
18. From some neglected and worm-eaten and torn manuscripts in private libraries, and from some lithographed books, not very much read by the public.
19. Union gained while living was of two natures, partial and complete. A partial union was possible when the Sufi was in a state of supreme ecstasy. The complete union was attained (in very rare cases) when all consciousness of self was lost and the mystic lived ever after in and with the Universal Self.
20. In Persian, poetry, for example, the Beloved is both Laila and Majnu.
21. Of these Hir and Ranjha and Sassi and Punnu in all probability were of Indo-Scythian origin, but the poets have overlaid them with Muslim colors and superstitions.
22. Of the three, the Hir, and Ranjha tale is the most important, and has been written by many poets, the best written up to date being Hir of Vare Shah, or Waris Shah.
23. Hir has almost the same position in Panjabi literature as Radha has in Hindi literature.

III. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PANJABI SUFI POETRY

We now proceed to examine the chief characteristics of Panjabi Sufi poetry. Foreign invasions and political changes retarded its growth in towns and cities.¹ Its torch consequently was kept burning in the villages. Having been evolved in the villages, it lacks that point of extreme elaboration to which Sufi poets carried other languages, such as Persian and Urdu. Mysticism being more predominant than materialism in Panjabi Sufi poets' temperaments, all complexity of expression, the artificial and ornate style, the jingle of words and bombastic language is missing from it. The chief effort of the poets was to give direct expression to their pious feelings in as brief a manner as possible. The vocabulary, similes and technical terms were confined to home trades, cottage industries, and the prevalent mythological ideas² and social customs. This should not, however, indicate that the language is crude and vulgar. No, the great anxiety to convey the devotional emotions correctly often imparted a sort of beauty and sweetness rare to the artificial Urdu poetry. Similes were taken from everyday life and were used with skilful restraint and preceded in order. The result was that though this poetry lacked dazzling brilliancy and poetic conceit, it always maintained dignity, order, and sincerity. To sum up, it can be stated here that, as the guiding principle of Panjabi Sufi poetry was the subordination of the parts to the whole, its chief merit lies exclusively in its beauty of fundamentals and not in its details.

Verse-form

The principal forms of Panjabi Sufi verse are the following:

Kafi. This name is borrowed from the Persian kafiya (meaning rhyme), and is applied to Panjabi Sufi poetry generally. Usually it is a poem on the divine attributes and sometimes on different Sufi beliefs. *Kafia* are found in different *chandās*, mostly *prakrit*, and in the ragas of the Panjabi musical system.³

Bara mah is an account of the twelve months of the Panjabi year. The poet describes the pangs of divine separation in each of these months. At the end of the twelfth month he relates the ultimate union with the Almighty. Almost all Sufi poets have composed a *bara mah*.

Athvara or a description of eight days. For seven days the seeker waits anxiously for God. Then when the last hope is fading he finds himself in the divine embrace on the eighth day.

Siharfi is an acrostic on the alphabet. It is not found in any other Indian language. As it is not of Persian or Arabic origin we conclude that it is a Panjabi form. The oldest verse of this kind is found in the Adi Granth of the Sikhs and was composed by Arjuna Dev.⁴ Later on it appears to have become a popular verse-form of the Sufis. Some of them wrote more than two or three *siharfis*.⁵ *Siharfi* precisely, is not a short poem but is a collection of short poems. The letters of the alphabet are taken consecutively, and words whose initials they form are employed to give metrical expression to the poet's ideas. Here is an example:

Alif Allah chambe di buti murshid man mere vich Lai hu
Nafi asbat da pani mali si rahe rage har jai hu
Andar buti mushk machaya jaNphullan pai ai hu
Jive murshid kamil bahu jai eh buti Lai hu⁶

Alif: Allah is like the plant of *chamba*⁷ which the preceptor planted in my heart, O He, by water and gardener of negative and positive (respectively) it remained near the *rag*⁸ and everywhere, O He, it spread fragrance inside when it approached blossoming, O He, may the efficient preceptor live (long) says Bahu, who planted this plant, O He.

There do not seem to have been any hard and fast rules about *siharfi*. Generally a letter has four lines, each consisting of two *tukks* but sometimes a letter may have five, six or more such lines.⁹ Some poets wrote a number of such poems for each letter. For example, if the letter is *alif* the first line of each such poem will begin with *alif*.

As a rule a *siharfi* is written in praise of the Beloved (God) and his attributes, but sometimes it is written to relate some legend, historical

or imaginary.¹⁰ In Sufi literature, however, we have found only one such *siharfi*.¹¹

The *siharfis* of the Muhammadans are on Arabic or Persian alphabets. They did not compose any on the *nagari* or Panjabi alphabets, though Hindus of different sects have written *siharfis* on the Arabic and Persian alphabets.¹²

Qissa is another form of Sufi verse. It is generally a tragic story of two young people who Love each other madly. They are separated by parents and cruel social conventions to which they pay little attention and disregarding them try to meet each other. This disregard brings misfortune and so they die, ultimately to be united in death for eternity. Some *qissas* are composed on the *siharfi* principle; others are composed of *baits*, sometimes called *slokas*.

Bait is the corrupted form of the Arabic word *bait* ¹³ It is a sort of couplet poem, has very few rules and therefore has a good deal of variety. It is very popular with the Panjabis of all classes.

Dohra is another form of Sufi verse. It is not the Hindi *doha* but resembles closely the *chand*. It has four *tukks*, all rhyming in the same manner. This was the favorite verse form of Hashim.

There is another form of verse common to all Panjabi religious poetry, called *var*. Originally *var* meant a dirge (*var*) for the brave slain in battle. But then it began to be employed in songs composed in praise of the Almighty God or some great religious personage.¹⁴ It is composed of various stanzas called *pauris*, literally 'steps', which are sung by minstrels at religious shrines.

1. Aurangzeb considered the Sufi as heretic, and was extremely harsh to them. Provincial governors and princes of the royal blood often followed his example during his reign, and afterwards foreign invasions by Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah were also responsible, in great measure, for inflicting cruelties on them.

2. This in no way signifies that the poets believed in them. They made use of them to bring home to the people their deeply mystic

thought in a simple manner.

3. Though, the basic principles of the Panjabi musical system are the same as those of the Indian system, yet it differs, a good deal in details.

4. It is known as *Bavan Akhri* on account of the 52 letters of the Nagri alphabet.

5. Hashim and Ali Haidar each wrote about half a dozen *siharfis*.

6. *Majmua Abyat Sultan Bahu*.

7. Jasmine.

8. *Shah rag* or *rag* is the great vein found in the neck and considered by the Panjabi Sufi to be nearest his mind.

9. Haidar's *Siharfis* are noted for this.

10. Panjabi poets other than *Sufis*, both Hindus and Muhammadans have written many such *siharfis*.

11. This *siharfi*, written at Gujrat by Muhammad Din, describes the life of a Sufi Murid. It cannot be more than fifty years old.

12. See *Siharfis* of Ganga Ram and that of Sai Das, both on the Arabic alphabet.

13. Maiya Singh's Panjabi Dictionary

14. For example, the famous *Vars of Bhai Gurdas* in praise of the Sikh Gurus.

IV. THE PLACE OF PANJABI SUFI POETRY IN PANJABI LITERATURE

A good number of Panjabi Sufi poets made attempts to create friendly feelings between the different communities by harmonizing the opposing systems. For this reason their poetry became clear to all sections of the Panjabi people. Besides, from the literary point of view also it deserved and was allotted a very high place. It retains the favor of both Hindus and Mussulmans and circulates among the masses in the form of songs, proverbs, and hymns even to this day.¹ In short, without this strain, Panjabi literature would be poor and devoid of a good deal of its beauty and literary charm.

Here we shall give explanations of those few words that are used in their original forms in our discussion of the Sufi poets.

Gaddi-nishin :² one who occupies the spiritual seat of a saint; a spiritual successor.

Murid: a disciple.

Murshid: a preceptor or a teacher.

Pir: *murshid*.

Khalifa: chosen successor of a teacher; a successor.

'Urs: nuptial festivals held at Sufi shrines. *Urs*. or nuptials signifies the union of the Sufi with God.

Rahau: chorus; refrain or the first verse of a song indicating the musical tune to which the remainder is to be sung.

Antara: a poem or song excepting the refrain.

It has been mentioned above that the Panjabi Sufis in their compositions employed, except for a few technical terms and words concerning *tasawwuf* borrowed from Arabic and Persian, the vocabulary and terms of local trades and cottage industries, in the Panjab as elsewhere the villages and towns were self-supporting units.³ All the necessities of life in those times were produced by the people themselves. The Sufi poetry which was nursed in the towns and villages therefore bore strong impressions of its surroundings. The most important industry of the Panjab, which flourished more or less in every village and city, was the cotton industry.⁴ This cotton

comprised three processes:

1. Cleaning and carding of cotton and making small rolls ready for spinning. This was done by both men and women.
2. Spinning, turning cotton into yarn, done entirely by women.
3. Weaving, done by men, though often feminine aid was procured.

The Sufis made ample use of the vocabulary of this industry and took similes from it. We give below the vocabulary relative to cotton manufacture, which may be of help to those who are interested in Panjabi Sufi poetry.

The first process, cleaning of cotton:

Tumbna: to open the cocoons by hand. This operation was generally performed by the women folk.

Velna: the instrument used for separating the seeds.

Velavi: one who works on the *velna*.

Jhambhna or *Pinjna*: to card cotton.

Penjah or *pinjah*: cotton carder.

Punni: a small roll of carded cotton prepared for spinning.

The second process, spinning: To the Panjabi Sufi the world was a spinning-wheel and his own self or soul the young girl who was supposed to spin and prepare her dowry. His good actions were like spinning, and the yarn thus spun was his dowry which, like the young girl, he would take to the husband (God). As a husband loved and lived happily with the wife who brought him a dowry and was qualified in spinning,⁵ so did God love the Sufi who died with good account (*karma* or actions) and possessed qualities that would befit a soul striving for good. But like that obstinate and short-sighted girl who, ignoring the future consequences, spent her time in games and replied to her mother's remonstrance by stating that one part or the other of the spinning-wheel was out of order, the ignorant Sufi made excuses for his indulgence in worldly pleasures. In the end, like the idle young girl, he was ignored by the Beloved and union was denied him. Thereupon he bewailed his sorrow and described the pangs of Divine separation. Here is the vocabulary:

Charkha: a spinning-wheel.

Charkkhari: the wheel of the spinning-wheel on which the thread turns.

Bair: the network of cord which bridges the two sides of the

charkkhari and on which the thread turns.

Mahl or *Mehal*: thread that connects the *charkkhari* with the spindle.

Hatthi or *Hattha*: the handle that turns the wheel.

Manka: circular beads used as pivots for the spindle.

Chamari: a small object made either of leather or of dry grass, which fits in the two pillars of the spinning-wheel and through which the spindle passes.

Munna: a pillar of the spinning-wheel which hold the spindle.

Takla or *trakla*: spindle of the spinning-wheel.

Tand : thread spun on the spinning-wheel.

Challi or *Mudda*: a hank of spun yarn.

Trinan or *Trinjan*: a party of young girls or women for spinning in competition; a spinning-bee.

Kattna: to spin.

Bharota or *Chikku*: a small basket to hold the hanks.

The third process, weaving:

Nara: a Weaver's shuttle.

Nali: the quill or bobbin of a weaver's shuttle.

Khaddi: a loom.

Tana or *Tani*: warp.

Peta: woof.

Mand or *Pan*: paste of wheat flour used to stiffen the cotton thread for weaving.

Kanghi: a heavy comb by which the threads of the woof are pressed home.

Gandh or *Ghundi*: a knot to unite the two ends of a broken thread.

Atti: a skein of spun cotton.

Atterna: coiling of spun thread on a small frame to make skeins.

Atteran: the frame used for coiling cotton thread.

Julaha: a weaver.

Unna or *Bunna*: to weave.

Rangna: to dye.

Daj: dowry chiefly consisting of dresses, the major part of which was prepared by the bride herself; a trousseau.

Besides the vocabulary of the cotton industry the Sufis also employed the names of things in everyday use in the areas, as:

Goil:⁶ a small hut of mud and grass, built on pasture land for the cowherd, or made in fields for the person who keeps watch.

Chajj: a tray of thin reeds, used for winnowing agricultural products.

Chajjli:⁷ a tray larger than a *chajj* and used to winnow the threshing floor.

Jharu ⁸ or *bauhkar*: a broom used for sweeping the floor or to collect together grain spread in the sun.

Angithi:⁹ a small object made of iron or earth to hold fire.

Bhambar:¹⁰ a flame or a big fire.

Ghund:¹¹ that part of a woman's veil which she throws over her face to conceal it from men.

The Influence of Sufi Thought and Poetry on Panjabi Literature

The influence of mystic thought and verse on Panjabi literature was tremendous. There was hardly any poet of renown who remained free from this influence. The writers of romance like Vare Shah or Waris Shah absorbed so much of Sufi ideas that people often wrongly thought them to be mystics.

Here, for example, Vare Shah speaks like a Sufi:

Parh parh ilam kaza paye karn mufti

Bajh ishk de rahn majhul mia

Parhia ilam na rabb di tum hundi

Ikko ishk da haraf makul mia¹²

Reading and studying knowledge, the *muftis* give judgment, but without love they have remained ignorant, Sir; by studying knowledge the secret of God is not known, only word of love is efficient, Sir.¹³

The Sufi idea that love was supreme and beyond all religious and social barriers has also passed on into the entire Panjabi literature. An example here will not be out of place:

Kahinda ishk di zat safat nahi

Nahi ashka da mazhab din rani

Ishk zat kuzat na puchhdai

Es ishk di bat acarj rani.

Ishk pak palit na samjh dai

Nahi jan da kufr islam rani
Amam bakhsh na khauf hai ashka nu
Khah maut hoai khah jindgani.¹⁴

(He) says for love exist no race and qualities, nor have lovers religion and creed, Queen. Love asks not high or low caste, the tale of this love is wonderful, Queen. The Lover understands not pure and impure, nor recognizes heathenism and Islam, Queen. Amam Bakhsh, the lovers have no fear whether death occurs or life remains.

The mystic belief in the instability of creation and the deception played by the illusion of this world also took deep root in Panjabi literature. It blossomed out in one form or another. Here is an example:

Ethe aya nu duniya moh laidi daghe bazi da dhar ke bhes miya,
Sada nahi javani te aish mape sada nahi je bal vares miya,
Sada nahi je daulta fil ghore sada nahi je rajia des miya,
Shah Muhammada sada na rup duniya sada rahn na kalare kes miya¹⁵

Here come, human beings are deluded by the world, wearing the guise of a deceiver, Sir. For ever are not youth, pleasure and parents, nor for ever stays childhood, Sir. For ever are not treasures, elephants and horses; nor for ever kings kingdoms possessed, Sir. Shah Muhammad, for ever in the world is not beauty, nor for ever stays the hair black, Sir.

These few examples, we hope, will be enough to show the extent of Sufi influence on Panjabi literature in general.

1. Nanak is the only non-Sufi whose verse is esteemed in a like manner by the Panjabi people.
2. The office of *gaddi-nishin*, which formerly was bestowed on one of the disciples, later on became hereditary in the families of the saints. Almost all *gaddi-nashins* now inherit the seats as their birthright.
3. We mean the period when machine-made things were not imported from abroad, and during which the Sufi poetry was composed.
4. Mr. Baden Powell, writing as late as the end of the nineteenth century, said that it is

impossible to exclude any city or town from the list of cotton manufacturing *localities* in the Panjab, Quoted by C. M. Birdwood in *The Industrial Arts of India*, p.244.

5. In those days spinning *was* the greatest accomplishment of young girl. Anyone not qualified in the art *was* looked down upon by her husband and members of his household.

6. The World to the Sufi was like a *goil* for temporary stay.

7. A Sufi in all humility calls himself a sweeper, and he calls the beliefs of different people the threshing floor, which he winnows to separate the right from the wrong.

8. Sufi *jharuis* wisdom.

9. The Panjab is extremely cold in winter and so people use angithis to warm themselves. The Sufi's heart is an eternal angithi full of fire, i.e. separation's pangs.

10. In Sufi language it is also love's flame which consumes the body.

11. Ignorance is a Sufi's *qhund*.

12. *Hir, Vare Shah*, p. 1.

13. How closely the above resembles the following of Bullhe Shah (*Qanun-i'Ishq, kafi* 76):

Ishk di navio navi bahar,

Ved Kuran parh parh thakke, sijnade kardia ghas gaye math,

Na rabb tirath na rabb makke. jis paia tis, nur jamal.

Love ever has a new season (glory). Reading and studying the Vedas and Qur'an (they) are tired. By bowing in obeisance the forehead is worn out. God is neither at a sanctuary nor in Mecca. One who has found (love), his light is powerful.

Bahu has said the same:

Pe parh parh ilam hazar kataba alam hoye sare hu,

Hikko haraf ishk da na parh jann bhule phirn vicare hu.

(*Majmua Sultan Bahu*, p. 6). *Pe*: reading and studying a thousand books all have become knower; one word of love they do not know to read,(hence) lost the poor ones walk astray.

14. *Candar Badan*. p.7.

15. *Qissa Larai Singhag*. p. 1.

SHAIKH IBRAHIM FARID SANI (c. A.D. 1450—1575)

The first Panjabi Sufi poet known to us is Shaikh Ibrahim, a famous *pir* of the Panjab. All authorities agree in saying that he belonged to the Chishti order of the Sufis, and lived between A.D. 1450 and 1575.

The Chishtis of the Panjab

This order was originally founded by Abu izhak Shami of Chisht,¹ but in the Panjab it was revived in the thirteenth century² by Faridu'ddin, generally known as Shakar Ganj.³

The grandfather of Faridu'ddin migrated to India from Persia early in the twelfth century. Farid was born fifty years later in the village Khotwas⁴ near Multan, in the year A.H. 565 (A.D. 1171.2).⁵ He became a disciple of Qutbu'ddin of Delhi. On his master's death he inherited his patched mantle and other personal belongings. He came to settle down at Ajodhan afterwards known as Pak Patan.⁶ From here he began his missionary work in the Panjab. On his death, his work was carried on by his descendants from Pak Patan, and his disciples scattered all over northern, India to carry his message, always looking to Pak Patan as their spiritual centre.⁷ Shaikh Ibrahim was the eleventh descendant of Faridu'ddin. The following is the genealogical order:⁸

Hazrat Baba Faridu'ddin Ganj-i-shakar

Diwan Badr-ud-Din Sulaiman

Diwan 'Ala-uddin Mauj-i-Darya

Diwan Mu'izzuddin

Pir Fazl-ud-din

Khwaja Diwan Munawar Shah

Pir Diwan Baha-uddin Harun

Pir Shaikh Ahmad Shah

Pir Ata-ullah

Khwaja Shaikh Muhammad

Shaikh Ibrahim Farid Sani

Not much is known about the birth and childhood of Ibrahim. There is complete silence with regard even to the date of his birth. The *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* states that he died in A.H. 960 or A.D. 1554 at

Sirhind where he was buried after a spiritual reign of forty-two years.⁹ But both the *Jawahir-i-Farid* and the *Gulzar-i-Faridi* relate that he died at Pak Patan in the year A.H 959 or A.D. 1553-4.¹⁰

In Pak Patan there is still a tomb known as that of Ibrahim. We therefore believe that he died at Ajodhan as the two above-mentioned biographies state.¹¹ He is said to have reigned as the *pir* for forty-two years, and therefore his birth must have taken place some time in the middle or the end of the fifteenth century.

After having pursued the Ordinary curriculum of secular studies he was initiated into the Cishti order and went through the spiritual training of a Sufi. In course of time he succeeded his father Khwaja Shaikh Muhammad in A.H 916-17 and became the *gaddi-nishin*.¹² He seems to have resend Farid closely in person and in sanctity, and therefore was named Farid Sani or Farid the Second. He had frequent interviews with Hindu saints and reformers, and with dervishes of Islam.¹³ The titles and appellations which Ibrahim bore¹⁴ show the great influence he wielded over the masses. He was called Farid Sani or the Second.

Salis Farid or Farid the Arbitrator,
Shaikh Ibrahim Kalan or Ibrahim the Elder,
Bal Raja or the mighty king.

This last named is a Hindu appellation applied only to a person who holds great spiritual power. To the Hindus and the masses he was also Shaikh Brahm. Brahm is a corrupt form of Ibrahim.¹⁵ Ibrahim's popularity amongst the Hindus of his time is rather amazing.

A long residence in India, a sincere study of her religions and philosophies and the political environment had weakened the proselytizing zeal which animated the soul of Farid the First.¹⁶ The Sufis were not very popular with the rulers, and so they could befriend the cause of the people, and ensure their own safety against the tyranny of a fanatical ruler only by their influence over people belonging him blind. Early in the morning the Shaikh ordered his servant to fetch water for his ablutions. The servant saw the blind thief and informed his master. The thief confessed his guilt and begged the *pir's* pardon Thereupon the saint prayed and the sight of the thief was restored. He then wave up thieving and became a *murid* of the *pir*.²⁰

Another legend is that in a season of drought the *pir* was besought to save the people from disaster. Pitying the sufferers, he took off his turban and whirled it round, upon which rain fell in torrents.²¹

The Shaikh was held in esteem amongst the distinguished holy men of those days. He had various disciples, the most famous of them being Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur.²²

The Literary Work of Farid

Ibrahim's literary works in Panjab consist of a set of *kafia* and a hundred and thirty *ashloks*. Besides these, we have been able to trace a *Nasihah-Nama* among the Panjab University manuscripts.²³ The style of this is akin to that of Farid and so is the language. It is a book on religious injunctions tinged with Sufi beliefs. It clearly indicates that he belonged to the orthodox school. The remainder of Farid's verse is all found in the *Adi Granth*. The *Gulzar-i-Farid* says that this verse was inserted in the *Granth* by Guru Nanak with the permission of the Pir Shaikh Brahm. The same authority states that only after having seen the book which Nanak submitted to inspection did the Shaikh give permission to add his sayings.²⁴

Historically, the *Granth* was compiled by Guru Arjun and not by Nanak, and if the permission was obtained it would have been the fifth Guru who procured it from the reigning pir.²⁵ In their correspondence the Gurus addressed each other as Nanak²⁶ and this may have led the author of the *Gulzar-i-Faridi* to make the mistake.

Shaikh Ibrahim's Panjabi poems, though they had won him the love of the people, failed to procure him the praise of the learned, who looked disdainfully at the poets of the living languages and refused to recognize them as such. The Panjabis therefore should thank Guru Arjun for having written down a major part of the verse of this first Panjabi Sufi poet.

As has been mentioned above, Farid Sani was the name conferred on Shaikh Ibrahim for his high sanctity. He, however, employed it as his *nom de plume*.²⁷ The common belief, therefore, is that the verse of Farid in the *Adi Granth* was composed by Farid the First. McAuliffe is certain that 'it was Shaikh Brahm who composed the *shaloks* bearing the name Farid in the *Granth*'.²⁸ But. Baba Buddh Singh is of

opinion that they are mixed compositions of the Farids, the First and the Second. The argument of McAuliffe that Farid the First did not live in the time of Nanak and, since Nanak had interviews with Ibrahim, the *shaloks* must be the Sheikh's, is not very strong or logical. In the *Granth* we find the hymns of those saints who lived long before Nanak and also of those with whom he never had any personal relations. Baba Buddh Singh²⁹ bases his argument on two facts: that since Amir Khusro who came to India could write in Hindi, why could not Faridu'ddin who was born and brought up in the Panjab write in Panjabi? And some of the *shaloks*, such as

*Farida roti meri kath di lavan meri bhukkh,
Jinha khadhia copria soi sahange dukkh.*

Farid, my bread is of wood and satisfies my hunger; those who eat buttered bread will undergo suffering, clearly indicate the incidents which took place in the life of Farid the First and so must be his. Thus he makes Farid and Ibrahim the conjoint authors. The first of these two arguments is not at all convincing, and the second can be rendered futile by the fact that the incidents of the founder's life were versified by his descendant and successor.

Though his argument is equally weak we agree with McAuliffe, as his conclusion has the support of one of the *shaloks* of Farid found in the *Granth*. It says,

Sekh hayati jag na koi thiru rahia
Jisu asani ham baitthe kete baa gaia.³⁰

O Shaikh no life in the world is stationary. The seat on which I am seated has been occupied by many.

From the above poem we understand that the author was not Faridu'ddin but a descendant, who was occupying his spiritual seat, hence Fund the Second.

Language' and Style

Shaikh Ibrahim preached in Panjabi to the congregations assembled at Pak Patan.³¹ His language was, therefore, a Panjabi comprising various dialects, and was simple and natural. The one dialect which is strikingly prominent in his language is Multani. The influence of Lahndi is also visible. A few words of Hindi and Persian are found in

his verse, but they were rarely words which the Panjabi People could not understand. He composed a few poems in Hindi, which fact proves that he had a good command over that language. But we cannot help stating that his verse is at its best in Panjabi. Though his poetry is natural, forceful, and impressive, it lacks that intense feeling which characterizes the poetry of Husain. Except for this want of feeling, it is expressive and intelligible, and demonstrates the restlessness of the author's soul for the Divine Union. His verse, though it does not conform to the Persian rules of prosody, is overlaid with similes, very human, and sometimes incoherent and unsuitable for the Divine Beloved, as in Persian poetry. Considering that he was the first Sufi who replaced Persian by his mother-tongue this defect can be ignored. His highest merit lies in the fact that he was the first Mussulman saint who composed verses in Panjabi and was the pioneer of Panjabi Sufi poetry.

Religious Tenets

Unity of the Godhead and Muhammad's religion being the only true way to attain salvation was the creed of the orthodox Sufi missionaries, like the pioneers of the Qadiri and the Cishti orders in India.

But as tolerance was their motto they soon became the friends of the people. They influenced the people's thought and were themselves influenced in turn, and began to doubt the asserted monopoly of the Muslim path to God. Such appears to have been the state of Sheikh Ibrahim's mind when he became the *pir* of Pak Patan. He could not openly criticize the established beliefs of his order as he was the hereditary incumbent and derived his power and prestige there from, but this could not prevent his holding some personal views. The uncertainty as to whether Islam or Hinduism was the true path perplexed him greatly. During one of his interviews with Nanak he says:

Ikk Khudai dui hadi kehra sevi kehra hadda raddi. ³²

There is one Lord and two teachers:³³ which shall be served (adopted) and which censuring rejected?

Nanak replied:

*Sahib ikko rah ikk, ikko sevie aur raddi
duja kaho simarie jamme te mar jai.
ikko simaro Nanaka jal thaI rahia samai.*³⁴

There is but one Lord, and one way. Adopt the one and reject the other.³⁵ Why should one worship a second, who is born and then dies? Remember Him alone, Nanak, who is present in water (seas) and on land.

The Shaikh was very pleased with the Guru's reply, but convinced like all Sufis that a patched coat and mean appearance humbled the heart and obtained salvation, he advised

*Par patola dhaj kari kambalri Pahiroi
Jini vesi Sahu milai soi ves karoi.*³⁶

Tear your clothes into tatters and wear a blanket instead. Adopt the dress by which the Lord may be obtained.

The Guru, who had great respect for the Sheikh, agreed with him that faith and devotion were the only means to reach the ideal but could not listen to this advice of Ibrahim,. He was a staunch believer in *karma-yoga* and an enemy of outward signs and symbols. He told the Sheikh that while wearing secular costume one could find the Lord, if one loved Him.³⁷

Ibrahim could not support Nanak's view. But he was extremely happy to find someone who like himself thought that there was only one way, a belief so dear to his heart. So, while bidding farewell, he remarked: 'O Nanak thou hast found God, there is no difference between thee and Him.'³⁸ This compliment illustrates faithfully how far the Sufi beliefs of Ibrahim had changed under the later Bhagvat influence.

Towards the end of his career Ibrahim appears to have set aside the remaining fanatical side of Islam. His faith in the prescribed Sufi code and Qur'anic beliefs seems to have fallen into the background. The following will confirm our view by showing the change in the Shaikh's ideas:

Farid, men carry prayer-carpets on their shoulders, wear a Sufi's robe and speak sweetly, but there are knives in their hearts.³⁹

His belief with regard to God and His grace is very vividly shown here:

In the lake (world) there is one Swan (good soul) while there are fifty snares (bad souls); O True One, my hope is in Thee.

In Farid's verse there is no formal exposition of any Sufi doctrines. It comprises short love poems and couplets on religious subjects in general. Some of his poems show a strong colour of Hindu thought, specially the doctrine of ahimsa.

He says:

Farid, if men beat thee with their fists, beat them not in return, kiss their feet and go back.⁴⁰

And again:

All men's hearts are gems, to distress them is by no means good: if thou desire the Beloved, distress no one's heart.

Humility is also a great quality with, the Shaikh Farid, revile not dust, there is nothing like it. When we are alive it is beneath our feet, when we are dead it is above us.⁴¹

The fame of Shaikh Ibrahim has surpassed that of the sect of which he was the spiritual head. For centuries together and even to the present day, the poet has been looked upon as a saint by thousands of his countrymen who never heard the name Cishti. Many of his couplets are household words, and hundreds of completely uneducated men and women make frequent use of them. We have given above those *shaloks* which are repeated in Hindu and Mussulman homes every day. They will serve as specimens of his literary genius and also of his popularity.

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol.III, p. 367.
2. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab*, Vol.III. p.432.
3. This title originated from a miracle performed by him. It has many versions one of which is that he was told by his mother that the reward of prayer was sugar. She used to hide some under his prayer-carpet, which the boy Farid got after the prayer. One day his mother went out, and he had to pray alone. After his prayer he lifted the carpet found a great supply of sugar — a miraculous gift of God. His mother was surprised on her return borne and named him Shakar Ganj or Treasury of Sugar.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari* (English translation), Vol. III. p. 363. Garçin de Tassy translates it Ghanewal.
5. *ibid.*
6. Macauliffe states (*Sikh Religion*. Vol.VI. p. 387) that the name *was changed on account* of a canal in which it was usual for all who visited Farid to wash their hands. The canal came to be known as *Baba Sahib ka pak patan* or Farid's cleansing ferry. This is not a satisfactory explanation. Ajodhan being the seat of Farid was therefore known as Pak Patan --- holy town or city.
7. The sect maintained its integrity till very late, when it was split into two sub-orders, the Nizamia and the sabirias, the former from Nizamuddin Awliya, a disciple of Fariduddin, and the latter from Sabir, cousin and son-in-law of the founder (see Rose's *Glossary*, Vol. III. p. 432).
8. See *Gulzar-i-Faridi*.
9. As quoted by Macauliffe in his *Sikh Religion*. Vol. VI. p. 348.
10. *Jawahir-i-Faridi*, p. 294 and *Gulzar-i-Faridi*, p. 81.
11. We have been unable to find any trace of his tomb in Sirhind. In some of the old biographies of saints do we find that he died at Sirhind.
12. *Jawahir-i-Faridi*, p. 292
13. He had two meetings with Nanak (see *Janam Sakhi Bala* and the *puratan*)- The *Gulzar-i-Faridi* is full of accounts of such interviews.
14. These titles and appellations we have collected from the *Gulzar-i-Faridi* pages. Macauliffe also mentions them in his book. See *Sikh Religion* Vol. VI, p. 102
15. The *Gulzar-i-Faridi* (p. 79) also calls him Ibrahim or Baram. The *Janam Sakhis* all call him Brahm, see *Bala –Janam Sakhi*, p. 543.
16. Even Farid the First was not altogether engaged in the work of conversion. His efforts were often Supplemented by two factors:
 - (1) The Political domination left the Hindus helpless, especially economically. Economic difficulties therefore compelled them to embrace Islam, which at once raised their status.
 - (2) The social disintegrity of the Hindus supplied him with converts. If a man of high caste ate or drank at Farid's or at any Mussulman's house he was excommunicated, and in the absence of 'repentance' was forced to become a Sufi hence a Mussulmen. The members of the neglected lower classes also professed the Islamic creed.
17. An interesting example of this is given in *Taikh-i-Daudi* (E. & D. ed., Vol. IV, pp. 439.40). Mia Abdullah of Ajodhan forbade Sultan Sikandar Lodi to carry out his resolve to massacre the Hindus assembled at Kurukshetra. The Sultan was thereupon enraged and putting his hand on his dagger, exclaimed: 'You side with the infidels, I will first put an end to you and then massacre the infidels.' But the personality and the popularity of Abdullah soon appeased his wrath and he gave up both his resolves, i.e. to massacre the saint and the infidels. Later on, inspired by the policy of Aurangzeb, the hereditary incumbents of Pak Patan changed the creed of tolerance advocated by their predecessors, and became the supporters of fanaticism of which Farid the First had disapproved. See Rama Krishna, *Les Sikhs*, p. 191.
18. Garçin de Tassy finds Hindu influence even at the end of the nineteenth century: see

La Religion Musalmane dans l'Inde.

19. Junayd as quoted by Nicholson in *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 131.
20. *Gulzar-i-Faridi* p. 80.
21. *Jawahir-i-Faridi*, p. 294.
22. Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 358.
23. MS. 374 Folios 2-14, 743.
24. *Gulzar-i-Faridi* p. 80.
25. Farid Sani died in A.H 959 (A.D 1553-4) early in the reign of Akbar while Guru Arjun compiled the *Granth* much later (A.D. 1581-1606).
26. Munshi Fani says that Guru Har Gobind when he wrote to him signed his name as Nanak. See *Dabistan*, Vol. II. p. 236.
27. *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 357.
28. *ibid.*
29. Hans Cog. p. 69.
30. *Adi Granth*, *Asa Sekh Farid*, *Shalok* 5.
31. The custom Prevails even at present but in a very degenerate manner.
32. *Janam Sakhi* (Bala, p.544)
33. Muhammad and the Hindu *avataras*.
34. *Janam Sakhi*, p. 544
35. By One, Nanak means the way of faith and devotion.
36. *Janam Sakhi*, p. 545.
37. *ibid.*
38. How closely this resembles the Vaisnava belief: Hari hari Jan douek hai, bimb vicar kol nai, jal te uthe tarang jiau jal hi bikke samai; i.e. God and saints are one and the same. The idea that; the saint are His mere reflection exists no more, for as a tide rises from deep waters and waters it ebbs, similarly the saints emerge from God and in Him they merge.
39. *Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 398.
40. *ibid.*, p. 394. This reminds one of the Vaisnava legend in which Bhrgu kicks Visnu while he is asleep. Visnu wakes up sad begins to massage Bhirgu's foot saying that his hard body must have hurt, his foot.
41. *Sikh Religion*, Vol. Vi, p. 394.

MADHO LAL HUSAIN

(A.D. 1539—1593-4)

HUSAIN was born in A.H. 945 (AD. 1539) in Lahore.¹ His ancestors, says the author of *Tazkira* were originally Kayastha Hindus who embraced Islam in the time of Feroz Shah.² But Baba Buddh Singh is of opinion that his great-grandfather or grandfather, who became a Mussulman, belonged to the *dhata* clan of the Rajputs.³ Under what circumstances Husain's family confessed the Muhammadan creed is not known. All that we know is that at the birth of Husain, the family was sunk deep in poverty. His father, who was called, *nau shaikh* 'Usman,⁴ was a weaver. Husain never learned this trade, but on account of his father being engaged in the industry, Fard Faqir in his *Kasab-Nama Bafind-gan*⁵ says:

Par is kasabe de vice bahute alam phazal hoai
Par shah husain kabir Jo aye dargah ja khaloai.

Though in this profession many learned ones had been, yet Shah Husain and Kabir who came (in the profession) went and stood at the door (of God).

Husain was put under the charge .of Abu-Bakr at a very tender age and became a *hafiz* when he was ten years old.⁶ Then Shaikh Bahlol of Ciniot (Chiniot, Jhang district), who learnt the doctrine of fana from a Sufi of Koh-Panj-Shir, came to Lahore and made Husain his own disciple.⁷ After a few years Shaikh Bahlol returned from Lahore and left Husain to continue his study of the Sufi practices at the shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh⁸ in Lahore.⁹ For twelve years he served the ashes of the pir and followed the strict Qura'nic discipline.¹⁰ He is said to have spent many a night in a standing posture in the river Ravi, repeating the *Qur'an*.¹¹ At twenty-six he left that *pir* and became a student of Sa'd-ullah, with whom he read many a book on Sufiism. Some time after this, as he was coming out of the house of his teacher

with his fellow-students, he thought he had found the secret of God. Happy at his success he threw in the well the *Qur'an* which he had in his hand, but his companions were enraged at this act of heresy. He thereupon ordered the hook to come out. It came, and to the surprise of his companions it was as dry as before.¹² Here after Husain, discarding all rules and regulations, began to dance, sing, and drink. He became a mystic. The excesses of Husain became scandalous and reached the ear of Shah Bahlol at Ciniot. The Shaikh was so much upset that he journeyed to Lahore to see things for himself. His talks with his disciple convinced him of his saintliness and he went back satisfied to his native town.¹³ Husain wore a red dress and came to be known as Lal Husain or Husain the Red.¹⁴ Husain was very fond of dancing and singing and mixed freely in the company of dancers and musicians. The Qadiris, to whose sect Husain belonged, generally loved music and dancing which, they, never went to the extreme which Husain reached. Husain shaved clean his moustache and beard and refused, according to the author of *Hasanat-ul-arifin* to accept those persons as disciples who were unwilling to shave their faces.¹⁵ This idea of Husain and his neglect of the religious duties of a Mussulman aroused suspicion, and some officials thought of punishing him; but by pointing out to them their own neglect of religious duties, Husain escaped punishment.¹⁶ Lal Husain was fortunate to have been born, to live, and to die during the reign of Emperor Akbar whose fondness for religious men and especially the Sufi was proverbial. Akbar, it appears from the writings of Dara Shikoh, knew Husain. Prince Dara writes: 'Prince Salim and the ladies of Emperor Akbar's harem believed in his supernatural powers and entertained respect for him.'¹⁷ The *Tahqiqat-i-Cishti* states¹⁸ that Prince (later Emperor) Salim was greatly attached to the saint and appointed Bahar Khan, an officer, to record his daily doings. These records, which were regularly submitted for the perusal of the Prince, were later on compiled together with the sayings of the saint and were named *Baharia*.¹⁹ The *Baharia* is said to be replete with incidents relating to the supernatural power of the saint.

His Attachment to Madho

Having become a Sufi, Husain began preaching in public. A Brahman boy of Shahdara, a village across the Ravi, frequented these religious

séances and showed keen interest in his teachings.²⁰ This attracted the attention of the saint, who soon became attached to the handsome youth. This attachment developed so much and so rapidly that if on any day Madho failed to come, Husain would walk down to his house. This sort of friendship was not liked by the parents, who tried to dissuade their son from meeting Husain, but to no effect. Desirous of separating their child from the Sufi, they proposed take him to the Ganges on a certain festival day. When Madho informed saint of his impending departure, he was much distressed and begged the boy not to go with his parents. However, he promised Madho a bath in the company of his parents on the appointed day. Madho thereupon refused to accompany his parents, who proceeded alone to Hardvar. After a few days the saint asked the boy to close his eyes, and when he did so, Madho found himself on the banks of the Ganges along with his parents who had reached there by that time. After the bath he discovered that he was back in his house at Shahdara. On their return the parents confirmed their son's statement that he bathed with them on the appointed day. This miracle, says tradition, so much impressed Madho that he confessed the Muhammadan faith and became a Mussulman.²¹ Another story about Madho's conversion is that the attachment of Husain for Madho was disagreeable to the parents and created suspicion in the people's mind.²² But Husain, unmindful of all, would go to the boy's house when he was prevented from visiting him. Very often the parents would tell him that Madho was absent and Husain would return disappointed. One day when he had been refused permission to see the boy, he walked down to his house for the second time. On reaching the place he saw people weeping and Wailing. On inquiry, he was told that Madho was dead. The Faqir laughed aloud and walking to the dead body exclaimed: 'Get up, Madho, why do you sleep at this hour? Get Up and see I am waiting for you.' Upon this, continues the story, Madho jumped on his feet and followed Husain out of his parental house, never to return there again, and be a Mussulman.

Both these versions of Madho's conversion are legendary and most probably untrue and of later origin, because how could a Sufi of Husain's type who disregard traditional precepts convert his beloved friend to Islam?²³

Secondly, since Madho did not change his Hindu name, it is certain that he was not converted to Islam. To our mind the truth appears to have been as follows:

That Madho, convinced of Husain's saintliness, was attached to him in the same manner as the saint was to him, and consequently, ignoring the rules of his own society, became his disciple and ate and drank with his spiritual guide. Such behavior would surely have offended the conservative Hindus who, on this account, excommunicated him and turned him out of their social fold. Thus secluded, the unfortunate Madho had no choice but to go and live with his master as his friend and disciple. Thousands of such adherents were unhesitatingly given by the Hindus to Islam and Madho no doubt had been one of these forced converts.

Madho later on was known as Shaikh Madho and his name came to be prefixed to that of the saint,²⁴ who to this day is known as Madho Lal Husain.

The love of Husain for Madho was unique, and he did all that lay in his power to please the boy. Once, seeing his co-religionists celebrating *holi*²⁵ and being desirous of doing the same, he brought some *gulal* (pinkish-red powder) and threw it on Husain. Husain at once joined him in the fun.²⁶ *Basant* or the spring festival, like *holi*, was also celebrated each year by Lal Husain to please Madho.²⁶

Madho Lal Husain *was* held in great respect by the people, and the Hindus, though they seem to have turned Madho out of their fold, could not master their credulous beliefs in the supernatural miracle-performing power of the saint and esteemed him just as much as their Muslim brethren. The author of *Tazkira* fixes the number of his followers as 90,000; but other people, he says, believed the number of his faithful to reach 1,000,000.²⁷ The same authority is responsible for the statement that Husain's gaddis, sixteen in number, are scattered all over India.²⁸ Four of these sixteen seats are called *Garibs*, or the poor, the other four are named *Diwans* or the ministers.²⁹ Three are known as *Khakis* or the ash-smearers, and another four as *Baihlavals*, i.e. entertainers. Nothing is said about the sixteenth.³⁰

Husain indulged in wine, and probably it is due to alcohol that he died at the age of 53, a comparatively early age for a saint. His death occurred

in A.H 1008 (A.D. 1593) at Shahdara, where he was duly buried³¹ A few years later, as predicted by the saint,³² the grave was swept away by an overflow of the Ravi. Thereupon Madho exhumed the corpse and carried it to Baghbanpura, where it was buried with pompous formalities. After his death Madho was buried by his side. Latif describes the tomb as follow:

The tomb is situated north of the village Baghbanpura. There are signs of two tombs on high platform, one of Madho and the other of Lal Husain, the actual tombs being in an underground chamber. The platform is surrounded by a wall with a gateway to the south. Between the platform and the surrounding wall is a space left for the devotees to go round,—the platform being lined on all sides with lattice-work of red stone. North of the enclosure is a tower in which is reverentially kept the impression of the prophet's feet (*Qadam-i-Rasul*) and to the west is a mosque. This mosque was constructed by Mora, a Muhammadan wife of Ranjit Singh.³⁴

Lal Husain appears to have had friendships among the holy men of his time. He was an intimate friend of Chajju Bhagat who, the tradition says, called him Shah Husain for the first time.³⁵ He met Guru Arjun whenever he came to Lahore. We, however, cannot find any historical evidence to support the assertion of Baba Buddh Singh, who states that when Arjun was compiling the *Adi Granth*, Husain submitted his verses to him for inspections but the Guru, disapproving them, refused to insert them in the *Granth*.³⁶ Husain's poetry, if we may be permitted to say so, is in no way inferior to that of many others found in the body of the *Granth*, nor would a free Sufi like Husain care to have his verses inserted in the book of a sect then not so popular as it was to be alter a few years.

His Mysticism

Husain's Sufiism was of a peculiar type and presented a curious medley of Persian and Indian Sufiism. In his mystic ideas and beliefs he was more Indian than anything else, but in his daily life he followed the style of the Persian Sufis.

Foreign Influence

The following two traits of his character affirm the influence of Persianism.

The first trait was his addiction to liquor. Needless to say, wine-drinking and dancing in the wine-house became a part of his saintly profession. And when drunk, he would dance, sing his own poems, and preach to the crowds who gathered round him. The Indian mystic in general and the Panjabi Sufi in particular avoided wine and led simple lives, but the Sufis of Persia were often pleasure-loving people. It does not mean that they all indulged in drinking, but some of them did taste the material wine which had a symbolic meaning in their poetry.

The second obviously Persian trait was his love of a youth. As stated above, he was enamoured of Madho. This idea of loving a youth is opposed to the Indian concept of divine love. An Indian requires no semblance to attain the Divine Beloved, and renouncing all attachment depends either on his own efforts of spiritual discipline, or, keeping faith, relies entirely on divine grace. The idea of loving a youth, originally Greek,³⁷ was borrowed by the Muslims of Islamic countries especially of Persia.

Some Sufis and some orthodox Muhammadans tell us that ‘youth-love’ was practiced for the following reasons:

1. A young man is physically more beautiful than a woman and so he inspires the Sufi better in the description of his Beloved.³⁸
2. Man is a weak being and cannot altogether give up his natural desire to have a companion in life. If he chooses a woman companion he indulges his lust. Therefore not to incur the sexual sin, he takes a pleasing youth on whom he showers his love and kindness and in whom he confides.
3. God has no feminine attributes. He is a male and therefore to describe him and to constantly think of him, a perfect youth is desirable as constant companion.³⁹

As far as poetry can help us, we find no immoral flaw in Lal Husain’s love for Madho. It had more moral than religious or philosophic significance. For him, this sort of love, being absolutely free from

selfish desire, was in no way detrimental to the attainment of the Beloved, and was consequently elevating.

His Works

Husain has left no poetic works. His only work is a number of kafis of a highly mystic type.

His Language and Style

His verse is written in simple Panjabi, slightly overlaid with Persian and Arabic words. It excels in expression of thought and has a clear flow. In its simplicity and effectiveness it is superior to Ibrahim Farid's Panjabi. It lacks the brilliancy of Urdu poetry but is remarkable for its just proportion of words and powerful sense of rhyme. His versification is smoother, his similes more relevant, and his words simpler but more effective than those of Ibrahim. His poetry is of a less orthodox type but is not as saturated with Indian thought as would be the poetry of Bullhe Shah. Like his character, his poetry is a curious mixture of Sufi, Indian, and foreign thought. The essential feature of his poetry which strikes the reader is that it is highly pathetic and, piercing the heart, creates a mystic feeling.

Peculiarity of his Doctrines

Husain's peculiarity of character is also reflected in his poetry. He believes in fana but does not seem to accept the doctrine of ana'l-Haqq' without which fana is not comprehensible. As we shall see presently, he spent his life in search of the Beloved whom he knew to be present everywhere but whom he could not see. His excessive love for Madho also proves that he did not reach those heights which Bullha attained.

Husain believed in the theory of karma, but on a rational Panjabi basis, as:

*Dunia to mar javana vatt na avana
Jo kich kitta bura bhala to kitta apna pavana.*⁴⁰

From the world one parts as dead not to return again; whatever actions wrought (be) right or wrong, according to them he shall obtain.

Husain insists on good karmas so much that several of his poems are composed to express that belief. For example:

*Tari sai Rabba ve mai augan hari
Sabh saiya gunvantia, tari sai rabba ve mai bat bisari
Bheji si jis bat nu piari ri soi mai bat bisari
Ral mil saiya daj rangaya piari ri mai rahi kuari
Mai sai te parbat dar de, piari ri mai kaun vicari
Kahe Husain sahelio ni amala bajh khuari.⁴¹*

Save, O master God, me full of faults; all friends possess quail-ties (good karmas), save me, full of faults. The object for which (I) was sent, O dear that alone I ignored; gathering together (for spinning) my friends, O dear, have had their trousseaux dyed (for marriage); I am left unmarried (for not possessing a dowry). Of my master (God) the mountains are afraid, poor creature, what am I? Husain says, O friends, without qualities there is but disaster.

Husain believed in samsara. This belief he appears to have borrowed from the Sikhs, a rational Bhagvat order founded at the end of the fifteenth century by Nanak Dev. The founder of this sect had endeavoured to bring samsara to the state of a science and, like the Ajivikas, professed that the wheel of samsara contained eighty-four thousand species of life, each of which in its turn possessed millions and millions of others.⁴² But Husain fails to have a clear grasp when he enters the details. His idea is vague, as:

*Vatt nahi avana bholiai maai
eh vari vela eh vari da
is caupat de caurasi khanne
jug vichare mil cota khade
ki jana ki pausi da.⁴³*

(Soul) has not to come again (as human being), O innocent mother, this turn of time (human birth) is only for this turn (life)⁴⁴ this chess board (samsara) comprises eighty-four squares (species) once

separated after sufferings (of 84 species) is union (in God); what do I know that which (soul) obtains (after death in present life) ?

Below is an exquisite example in pathetic, soul-stirring words of the sufferings of Shah Husain's soul separated from the Universal Soul:

*Dard vichore da hal ni mai kehnu akkha
sula mar divani kitti birahu pia khial, ni mai kehnu akkha
jungal jungal phira dhudedi aje na aya mahival,
ni mai kehnu akha
Dhukhan dhue shaha vale japhola ta lal,
Ni mai kehnu akkha
Kahe Husain faqir rabbana, vekh nimaniam da hal,
Ni mai kehnu akkha.⁴⁵*

The story of the pain of separation, O to whom shall I narrate, these pangs have made me mad, this separation is in my thought; from jungal to jungal I roam searching, yet my Mahival⁴⁶ has not come. The smouldering fire has black flame whenever I stir (it), I see the Lal⁴⁷ says Shah Husain, God's faqir, behold the lot of the humble ones.

Husain explained the reason of his ecstatic dancing which was against the precepts of the established Mussulman beliefs and perhaps against the injunctions of the Qur'an also.

*Shah gia beshaki hoi ta mai augan nacci ha
Je shahu nal mai jhumar pava sada suhagan sacci ha
Jhuthe da muh kala hoye ashak di gall sacci hai
Shak gia beshaki hoi ta mai augan nacci ha.⁴⁸*

The doubt⁴⁹ has vanished and doubtlessness is established, therefore I, devoid of qualities, dance. If I play (thus) with the Beloved I am ever a happy woman.⁵⁰ The liar's face (he who accused) has been blackened and the lover's statement has been proved true; because the doubt has vanished and doubtlessness is established, therefore I, devoid of qualities, dance.

Here is a kafi in which Shah Husain describes, in a short but forceful manner, the sarcasm of the public about his unique ways, and

expresses his determination to continue his search for the divine Beloved:

*Rabba mere augan citt ni dhari
augan hari ko gun nai andaro fazal kari
dunia valia nu dunia da mana nanga nu nang loi
na asi nang na dunia vale sanu hass di jani kani
Kahe Husain fakir sai da sadi dadhe nal bani.⁵¹*

O God do not mind my faults; full of faults (I) without quality;—from within show compassion (enlightenment).

To the worldly the pride of the world, to the rocluse⁵² renunciation is a cover.⁵³ Neither a recluse I nor worldly (therefore) whosoever⁵⁴ laughs at me; says Shah Husain, God's faqir my friendship is made with the Terrible One (God).

It appears that Husain never attained the stage of Union. He ever longed to meet God and merge himself in Him. The sentiment that his Beloved was separated from him by his own illusion or ignorance so much overpowered his soul that he sang of his pains of separation in a wonderfully touching manner. This pathos has a very lasting effect on the mind of the reader. No other Sufi can beat Husain in this respect. Here we give one such poem:

*Sajjan bin rata hoia vaddia
mas jhare jhar pinjar hoya kankan geia haddia
ishk chapaya chappda nahi birho tanava gaddia
rajha jogi mai jogiani, mai ke karchaddia
Kahe shah Husain fakir sai da tere daman laggeia.⁵⁵*

Without the friend the nights have become longer, my flesh has fallen, my body has become a skeleton and (then) my bone rattle against each other; love can never be kept hidden, when separation has pitched its camp; Rajha is a Yogi and I his Yogin ,what has he done unto me? Says Shah Husain, God's faqir, I have held your skirt.

The following is a true example of Shah Husain's love for intoxicating things. He prays to God to grant him these along with

wisdom and contemplation. It clearly shows that he was a pleasure-loving Sufi:

*Jeti jeti dunia ram ji tere kolau mangdi
kunda dei sota dei kotthi dei bhang di
safai dei mirca dei be minti dei rang di
posat dei bati dei cati dei khand di
gian dei dhian dei mahima sadhu sang di
shah Husain fakir sai da ehi duai malang di.*⁵⁶

All the world (people), O Rama,⁵⁷ begs from you. Give the kunda⁵⁸ and sota⁵⁹ and a chamber (full) of bhang⁶⁰; give the cloth⁶¹ and black pepper and measureless colour,⁶² give poppy⁶³ and the cup and a cati⁶⁴ of sugar; give wisdom and contemplation and the honor of sadhus' company (says) Shah Husain, the faqir of God, this is the request of a faqir.

Such was Husain, the unusual Sufi, who lived in the hopes of meeting his departed Beloved, but who utilized the period of waiting in drinking wine and bhang.

Sources of Information

Panjab University MS. No. 374, Folios 2—14, 743. This MS. in Gurmukhi characters contains about forty-five kafis of Husain. They are not correctly given. The compiler has mixed most of them. Some, however, are correct.

Kafia Shah Husain, a small brochure containing 28 kafis, published at Lahore.⁶⁵

The kafis collected from kavvalis, elders and mirasis at Lahore.

On the Life of Husain the following books exist:

Baharia, by Bahar Khan. We have not succeeded in tracing the book.

Haqiqat-ul-Fuqara contains an account of Shah Husain. It is out of print.

Tahqiqat-i-Cishti by Nur Ahmad Cishti. This Urdu book speaks of Husain at length.⁶⁶

Tazkira-Awliya-i-Hind⁶⁷ by Mirza Muhammad of Delhi. 3 volumes. The third volume deals with Husain and Madho.

Hasanat-ul-‘arifin ⁶⁸ by Maulvi Muhammad ‘Umar Khan, an Urdu rendering of the Persian work

Hasanat-ul-arifin of prince Dara Shikoh, gives an account of Shah Husain.

History of Lahore by Syed Muhammad Latif in English. Deals with Husain also.

Hans Cog by Buddh Singh contains some second hand information about Husain.

Yad-raftagan, ⁶⁹ another biography of saints, contains a few pages on Husain’s life.

1. Tazkira Awliya-i-Hind.Vol.III.p.33
2. ibid.
3. Hans Cog. p. 106. We do not think there is any such clan among the Rajputs.
4. The word nau is a sareastic prefix which was added to the names of new converts by Muhammdans.
5. See darya-i-ma’rifat containing the kasab nama.
6. Tahqiqat-i-Cishti. p.43.
7. ibid...pp. 42-3.
8. See Introduction. p. xvii, n. 1.
9. Tahqiqat-i-Cishti. p. 46.
10. ibid.
11. History of Lahore .p.145.
12. This story of conversion is related in Tahqiqat-i-cishti. Pp.48-9
13. ibid. p.49
14. Tazkira awliya-i-Hind, vol. III, p.34, and yad-.rafta-gan, p.58.
15. Hasanat-ul-arifin, p.n.46.
16. ibid., p. 46.
17. Prince Dara, as quoted by Latif. See History of Lahore, p.145
18. p. 52.
19. We have not been successful in tracing this book in the libraries of London or of the Panjab.
20. Some say that he saw him while he was drinking at a bar. But Madho being a young Hindu lad could not have gone to the wine house. The account gives above, therefore, seems to be the true version. The author of tahqiqat-i-Chishti relates (pp. 50-1) that Husain met Madho while the lad went through the bazaar in a fashionable manner. He

- tried in vain to possess the lad for 16 years, at the end of which period he succeeded.
21. Latif on the authority of Baharia, see History of Lahore , p.145
 22. Tahqiqat-i-Cishti says (pp.50-1) that his relatives seeing him sleeping in the same bed with Lal Husayn came to murder them both, but the power of Husayn made them blind and as they could not find the door, they returned.
 23. According to Hasanat-ul-arifin (p. 46) Husain is credited with having been above all religions. He said he was neither a Muslim nor a pagan. i.e. Hindu.
 24. Latif on the authority of Haqiqat-ul-Fuqara: History of Lahore. p. 146.
 25. A Hindu carnival during which people amuse themselves by throwing color on each other.
 26. Tahqiqat-i-Cishti, pp. 51-2.
 27. These festivals are still celebrated at the shrine where he lies buried along with his dear Madho.
 28. Vol. III, p.36.
 29. The gaddi-nishin of the Lahore shrine and his relatives are uneducated and ignorant men. They said that they possessed the biography and other books of the saint but refused to show them to us. We however, collected some kafis from the books, and verified them from the kavvalis.
 30. The gaddi-nishin of the Lahore shrine is the head diwan and is the spiritual descendant of Madho.
 31. Tazkira, Awliaya-i-Hind, p.36.
 32. ibid. p.62
 33. History of Lahore, p. 146
 34. ibid. p. 146.
 35. It relates that after Husain had brought dead Madho to life, Chajju Bhagat addressed him as Shah (a bestowed of gifts) Husain, instead of Lal Husain.
 36. Hans Cog, p. 107.
 37. The Greeks, held that 'youth love' was the only form of love worthy of a noble soul. For detailed historical development of 'youth- love' philosophy see Antimachus of Colophon and the Position of Woman in Greek Poetry, by E. F. M. Benecke.
 38. This is like an artist who wants a beautiful model to paint some divine subject.
 39. The opponents of suffiism are of opinion that, psychologically, this love for a youth could not be possible and a Sufi kept a youth only to satisfy his animal nature.
 40. From a kawali of the Lahore shrine. It is also given in Hans Cog, P. 115.
 41. Panjab Univ. MS., P. 374, kafi 1.
 42. Les Sikhs, p.34.
 43. Hans Cog, p.112
 44. According to the Hindu thought a soul can come back into the same life if his karmas allow that. A man can be born again as man, or go higher or lower in the scale as his actions permit. Husain does not seem to believe in this.
 45. This kafi is found in the Panjabi University MS. No. 374 (kafi 9) but is slightly different from what the kavvalis sing. We give it according to the kavvalis.
 46. The story of Sohni Mahival, generally known to the public through the Qissa Sohni Mahival by Fazal Shah and other poets. The tragedy is said to have taken place in the time of Shah Jahan, but from the above kafi seems to have been much older and is, perhaps, of ancient origin.
 47. Lal here has two meanings; red consuming fire hidden under black smoke' and 'the Beloved hidden from us by maya or our ignorance'.
 48. From kavvalis. Hans cog contains it too.
 49. About God.
 50. Suhagin or suhagan is a woman who has her husband living, hence happy.

51. Kafia Shah Husain, No. 1.
52. Nanga are opposite of the worldly, therefore, recluses.
53. Loi here means cover and not a blanket. It signifies that their renunciations stands guarantee for them and so nobody questions them or make fun of them.
54. Jani kani is a Panjabi expression, very difficult to render in English. It means, even a person of ordinary importance, to say nothing of others.
55. Panjab University MS. No. 374, kafi 5 and kafia 2.
56. *ibid.*, kafi 42.
57. Ram ji here does not mean Rama, the hero of the epic but God, the omnipresent.
58. Kunda is a stone vessel in which bhang is rubbed.
59. Sota is a long piece of wood about two inches in diameter with which bhang is pressed and rubbed.
60. *Cannabis indica*.
61. A thin cloth for the liquid bhang to filter through.
62. Some colour, generally saffron, to give a pleasing colour to the preparation.
63. Poppy seeds which are added to the preparation.
64. Cati is big earthen vessel used for storing things.
65. Sant Singh & Sons, Lohari Gate, Lahore.
66. Koh-i-Noor press, Lahore.
67. Muir press, Delhi 1928
68. Kapur art printing Works, Lahore.
69. Islamia Steam Press, Lahore

SULTAN BAHU

(A.D. 1631-91)

In sultan Bahu we have a poet who is universally admitted to have been among the greatest mystics of India. All accounts are silent with regard to the date of his birth, but they agree about the time of his death. He died on Friday night at dawn in the first *jumadi alsani* month in the year A.H. 1102¹ (A.D. 1691). He was sixty-three lunar years of age at the time of his death.² From this we conclude that his birth took place in the year A.D. 1630 at Avan, Shorkot in Jhang district. Being born at Avan he is also known as Avan.³

According to *Manaqab-i-Sultani*, his ancestors migrated to India from Arabia after the death of Hasan and Husain.⁴ Having fought and defeated the Hindus of Pind Dadan Khan, Ahmadabad, and the districts around them, they forced them and their chiefs to embrace Islam.⁵ Whatever his ancestors may have been, the father of Bahu was a resident of Jhang district. He is said to have been a person of quiet disposition and so was his wife, the mother of Bahu.⁶ Legends relating to his childhood are numerous and of a varied nat. One of them is so interesting that we cannot help relating it here. It runs thus: When Bahu was a boy, he was such a devout Mussulman that a sort of radiance spread round his face, and whenever a Hindu witnessed it, he was so impressed by it, that forgetting all, he renounced his own religion and became a Mussulman. This miracle wrought exclusively by his radiance frightened the Hindus, who sent a delegation to wait upon his father and request him to keep his son Bahu indoors, except certain hours. This request was complied with, and the young boy thereafter had to remain indoors.⁷

His family was held in great regard by the Emperor Shah Jahan who conferred on his father, Sultan Bazid Kahar Janan in jagir.⁸

Bahu received his education at home, and his mother was mostly responsible for it. It is said that after he had married and had begotten children he wanted his mother to become his *murshid* or *pir*. But she declined, stating that women in Islam were not permitted to be spiritual teachers and that he had better go and find a male teacher.⁹

Thereupon he left his wives and family and went to Hazrat Habib-ullah Qadiri ¹⁰ at Baghdad ¹¹ on the banks of the river Ravi.

After a short period of discipleship Sultan Bahu defeated his master in his power of *karamat* or miracles.¹² Thereupon Habib-ullah frankly informed him of his inability to teach any further and directed him to go to his master Hazrat Pir Saiyid Abdul Rahman of Delhi. This Abdul Rahman, as Habib-ullah describes him, 'was apparently a *mansabdār* of the Emperor but possessed great spiritual knowledge.'¹³ Sultan Bahu then went to Delhi and learnt from Abdul Rahman ¹⁴ what he desired.

Bahu, Says Sultan Bakhsh Qadiri, was held in great esteem by Emperor Aurangzeb, who paid him all possible attention, but for some unknown reason the saint never seems to have cared for the Emperor.¹⁵ Bahu had four married wives and seventeen mistresses. Of the former, there were Muslim and fourth Hindu. He had eight sons from his wives.¹⁶ This sort of life, though sanctioned by the Muslim law, did not befit a saint and a teacher. But it is not for us to judge his private life, and so we proceed.

On his death, Sultan Bahu was buried at Kahar Janan. In A.H. 1180 (A.D. 1767) Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh¹⁷ raided the district. The relatives and *murids*, though they were very anxious to protect the tomb, ran away in fear. One *murid* of the saint nevertheless refused to prove faithless to his ashes. The Sikh chiefs, however, did not despoil the tomb and left the faithful disciple unmolested.¹⁸ What the Bhangi chiefs spared, nature, however, did not.¹⁹ Some time after, the Chenab having changed its course, its waters covered the graveyard, and many tombs were swept away. The *murids* and *khalifas* thereupon began to weep and wail, but a voice comforted them by telling them that next morning an unknown person would come and bring from under the water the coffin containing the dead body of Sultan Bahu. As stated by the voice, a strange Person brought the coffin out of the river ²⁰ and having ordered its burial under a pipal tree, in a deserted building, disappeared.²¹ The coffin accordingly was taken to the said building, put under the tree, and a brick platform raised on it. The grave was not dug, as was the usual custom.²² This event occurred ten years after the Sikh raid district, i.e. in A.H. 1190 (AD. 1775).²³

His Works

Bahu, says the author of *Tawarikh Sultan Bahu*, wrote in all a hundred and forty books in Persian and Arabic.²⁴ Nothing is recorded about his works in Panjabi except that he wrote poetry in Panjabi also.²⁵ What happened to this latter poetry is not known. Most probably, as Panjabi was considered vulgar and unscholarly his works in this language were ignored and ultimately lost.²⁶ In spite of all this indifference, some of Bahu Panjabi verse was preserved by the *gaddi-nishins*, though not because they loved it. The followers and admirers of Sultan Bahu are mostly villagers and uneducated people 'who know no language except their own mother-tongue, Panjabi. So the descendants, to maintain their own prestige and influence over these credulous people, have preserved some of Bahu's verse.'²⁷ It is sung by the *kavvalis* on the 'urs days.

Bahu, relates the author of *Manaqab-i-Sultani*, wrote in his 'Ain-ul-Fuqar that he thanked his mother for having given him the name Bahu, which by the alteration of one *nukta* or point becomes *yahu*.²⁸

The only published *siharfi* of Bahu is very lengthy. Each letter of the alphabet has one, two, or four short poems, each consisting of eight *tukks*. But some letters have more than twenty such poems. The most striking thing about Bahu's poetry is that every second *tukk* ends in *hu*. *Hu* is regarded as a name of Allah, and it is considered highly meritorious to repeat it as often as possible. Lines ending in *hu* are an innovation in Panjabi poetry. They are also a great help in establishing the authenticity of Bahu's Panjabi verse.

Bahu, as judged from his poetry, belonged to the philosophic school of the Sufis but for some reason or other he hid his philosophy under the veil of orthodoxy. It may be that to ensure his safety²⁹ he disguised his philosophic thought. Then there was another reason, namely his sainthood, which did not permit him that liberty and happiness which Bullhe would enjoy. He had become a *pir*, not in the sense of a preceptor but as a religious head and object of respect and worship. This demanded a certain amount of reserve and prudence on his part. So he had to present his philosophic ideas slightly tinged with orthodox thought, In spite of his personal convictions. Yet it is worth stating here that Bahu's ideas, though philosophic, were different

from those of Bullhe Shah, his younger contemporary. He does not seem to have believed in *karma* and reincarnation, and if he did, they had not become convictions with him. There was a great lack of balance and equilibrium in his pantheistic philosophy, and it is this lack which accounts for his indulgence in sexual pleasure and princely living. His private life was a natural consequence of his philosophic unsteadiness.

Bahu's verse is composed in simple and unpretentious style. It has a well-marked character of its own and rests entirely on the resources of the poet's thought knowledge of the language. There is an absolute lack of artificiality. Another thing which is creditable about him is that his verse is pious and bereft of all human love and its ideals.

Bahu's language is Panjabi, as it is spoken in Jhang and the districts around it. It has sweetness and simplicity but is not rustic or vulgar. The poetry of Bahu is not much known, and if it has attained popularity anywhere it is in the circle of his adherents, though it deservedly demands a better consideration from the general public of the Panjab.

The following poems are extracted from Bahu's *siharfi*. This is Bahu's ideal of a *faqir*:

*Jim jjudia mar rahna hove, ta ves fakira kariye hu
je koi suttee guddar kura vang arurhi sahiye hu
je koi kadde gala mehna us nu ji ji kahiye hu
gila-ulahmbha bhandi khavari yar de paro sahiye hu.*³⁰

Jim: if dead while living we want to remain, then the robe of faqirs we should wear, O He; if any one throws at us worn-out rags and rubbish,³¹ Like a dunghill we should bear them, O He; he who abuses and taunts, to him, we should say sir, air, O He; complaint and taunts, scandal and troubles we should bear for the Beloved's sake, O He.

In the following he relates the condition of him who has attained Union:

*Jim jinha shau alif thi paya, oh fer kur'an na parh de hu
oh maran dam muhabbat vala, dur hoyo ne parde hu
Dozakh bihisht Gulam tinhade, ca kitto ne barde hu*

*Mai kurban tinha to bahu, jehre vahdat de vice varde hu.*³²

Jim: those who have found the Lord *alif*,³³ they again do not read the *Qur'an*, O He; they respire the breath of love and their veils³⁴ have gone afar, O He; hell and heaven their slaves become, their faults they have forsaken, O He; I am a sacrifice for those, Bahu, who in the unity enter, O He.

Bahu speaks of his beloved:

*Ce carh canna tu kar roshanai te jikkar karede tare hu
Tere jahe cann kai sai carhde, sanu sajjana bajh hanera hu
Jitthe cann hai sada carhda kadar nahi kujh teri hu
Jis de karan asa janam gavaya bahu yar milsi ikk veri hu.*³⁵

Ce: rise moon spread your light and the stars will talk of it.³⁶ O He; many hundred moons like you might rise, without the Friend for me is dark, O He; where that moon of mine rises, there no regard for you is felt, O He; for whom, Bahu, I have lost my life, once that Friend will meet me, O He.

Here is Bahu's definition of real lovers (seekers):

*Nun na oh hindu na oh moman na sijda den masiti hu
dam dam de vicc vekhan maula, jinha jan kaza na kitti hu
ae dane te bane divane jinha zat sahi vanjh kitti hu
mai kurban tinha to bahu jinha ishk bazi cun litti hu.*³⁷

Num: neither Hindus are they, nor are they Muslims nor in the mosques they in obeisance bow, O He; In each and every breath³⁸ they behold God, who have not distorted their live, O He; they came wise, and became mad, who traded in the real substance, O He; I am a sacrifice for them, Bahu, who have selected their profession, love, O He.

The following expresses the philosophic concept of Sufi thought. Here he forgets his orthodoxy:

*He hu da jama paih ghar aya, ism kamavan zati hu
na otthe kufar islam di manzil na otthe maut hayati hu*

*shah rag thi nazdik langhesi pa andure jhati hu
oh asa vicc asi uhua vicc dur hui kurbati hu.*³⁹

He: dressed in God I come home, to earn the Name is my profession,
O He; neither are there stages of paganism and Islam, nor is there
death and life, O He, He will pass nearer than the jugular vein; do
throw a glance inside you, O He: He is in us and we in Him, falsity
has gone away,⁴⁰ O He.

Again:

*Nun nahi jogi nahi jattgam na mai cila kamaya hu
na mai bhajj masiti variya na tasba kharkaya hu
jo dam gafil so dam kafir sanu murshid eh pharmaya hu
murshid sanu sohni kitti bahu ikko pal vicc ca bakhshaya hu.*⁴¹

Nun: neither a *yogi* nor a *jattgam*,⁴² nor have I observed forty days'
fast, O He; neither have I rushed into a mosque nor with rosary⁴³
noise have I made, O He; 'That breath when one is forgetful, that
breath is false' to me (this) the teacher has ordained, O He; teacher
has treated me hand. somely,⁴⁴ Bahu, in one moment he procured me
grace, O He.

*Mim mazhaba vale darvaze ucce, rah rabbani mori hu
pandta te mulvania kolo chap chap lange de cori hu
addia maran karn bakhere dardmanda dia ghoru hu
Bahu cal utthai vasiai jitthe dava na kisse hori hu.*⁴⁵

Mim: religion's⁴⁶ gates are high and the path of God is like a hole,⁴⁷ O
He; from the *pundits* and the *maulvis*, It passes hidden and
concealed,⁴⁸ O He; they kick with their heels and create trouble (but
this) for the sufferers is a *ghori*⁴⁹ O He; Bahu, let us go there and live
where no one else's claims exist,⁵⁰ O He.

The following may account for Bahu's indifference towards the
Emperor. How could a man with such ideas appear in the king's
presence without running a great risk of being put to death?

*Ain ashik hove te ishk kamave dil rakkhe vang pahara hu
lakh lakh badia hazar ulahme, kar jane bag bahara hu*

*mansur jahe cukk suli ditte vakif kul asrara hu
sijdiya sar dil na cahe bahu tore kafir kahn hazara hu. ⁵¹*

Ain: if one is a lover and professes love he should keep his heart like a mountain, O He; many millions of bad turns and thousands of taunts he should feel as pleasures of garden, O He; one like Mansur was hanged on the cross, who was acquainted with all the secrets, O He; to bow head in obeisance⁵² heart wants not, Bahu, though thousands might proclaim me heathen, O He.

Bahu expresses his sentiments for his *murshid* in the following:

*Mim murshid makka talib haji kaba ishk banaya hu
vicc hazur sada har vele kariai hajj savaya hu
hikk dam maitho juda jo hove dil milane te aya hu
murshid ain hayati bahu mere lu lu vicc samaya hu. ⁵³*

Mim: the murshid is Makka, seeker the pilgrim, and love is the Ka'aba, O He; in his presence ever and at all times⁵⁴ let us do that better *hajj*, O He; if for one moment he parts from me, the heart craves to meet, O He; Bahu, the murshid is the life, he is present in my every pore, O He.

Bahu, like the orthodox Qadiris, compose a few poems in praise of Abdul-Qadir Jilani, the founder of the Qadiriya sect. Here is one of this kind.

*Sin sun faryad pira diya pira, mai akkh sunava kehnu hu
tere jeha mainu hor na koj, mai jehe lakh tainu hu
phol na kagaz badia vale dar to dhak na mainu hu
mai vicc aid gunah na honed bahu tu bakhshido kahnu hu. ⁵⁵*

Sin: listen to (my) complaint O pir of the pirs,⁵⁶ to whom else should I tell it? O He; like you there is no one else for me, but like me you have millions, O He; do not open the papers of bad deeds,⁵⁷ do not push me away from the door, O He; if I were not filled with such great sins then, says Bahu, why would you have pardoned me?

This is the condition of a real lover:

*Ain ishk di bhah hadda da balan ashak baih sakede hu
ghat ke jan jigar vicc ara, vekkh kabab talede hu*

*sar garden phiran har vele khun jigar da pide hu
hoge hazara ashak bahu par ishk nasib kide hu.*⁵⁸

Ain: love is fire, bones⁵⁹ the fuel and sitting in front the lovers warm themselves,⁶⁰ O He; putting the saw in the heart behold like the *kabab* they are being fried, O He; the mad ones, (lovers) ever roam about drinking their (own) heart's blood, O He; thousands have become lovers, Bahu, but in whose destiny is love?⁶¹ O He.

What the Beloved expects of the lover is a white (pure) heart and not a white (beautiful) face. This idea is very finely expressed in the lines given below:

*Dal dil kale kolo muh kala canga je koi us nu jane hu
muh kala dil accha hove ta dil yar pachane hu
eh dil yar de picche hove, mata yar vi kade sanjhane hu
Bahu sai alam chor masita natthe, jab lage ne dil taikane hu.*⁶²

Dal: than a black heart a black face is better, each one is aware of that, O He; if face is black and heart is white then the Beloved recognizes that, O He; such heart should ever follow⁶³ the beloved, might be that He recognizes⁶⁴ him, O He; Bahu, hundreds of learned men have left the mosques and run (to their *pirs*) when their heart has attained its mark,⁶⁵ O He.

The pure and the elect are described in this couplet:

*Jim jo paki bin pak mahi de, so paki jan paliti hu
hikk butt-khanne ja vasal hoai ijk khali rahe masiti hu.*⁶⁶

Jim: those who are pure, without the purity of the Beloved,⁶⁷ consider their purity to be impurity, O He; some in the idol-house have reached Union, others have failed in mosques, O He.⁶⁸

Bahu disapproves of *faqiri* without knowledge. He says:

*Ain ilam bajhe koi fukar kamave kafir mare divana hu
sai varia di kare ibadat rah allah kannu bagana hu
gafalat kannu na khulsan parde dil zahil butt khanna hu
mai kurban tinha de bahu jinha miliya yar yagana hu.*⁶⁹

Ain: he who without knowledge professes renunciation let that false one (kafir) die insane, O He; he might worship for a hundred years, yet to God's path will he be a stranger, O He; because of carelessness his curtains of ignorance will not be removed and his foolish heart will be an idol-house, O He; I am a sacrifice, Bahu, for them who have met the Beloved Unique, O He.

Now we shall quote a few examples expressing Bahu's orthodox ideas. The following is in praise of the love of Hasan, Husain, and their father, Ali:

*Ain ashak soi hakiki jehra katal mashuk de manne hu
ishk na chore muh na more tore sai talvara khanne hu
jitt val dekkhe raz mahi da laga udahi vanjhe hu
sacca ishk hasnain⁷⁰ Ali da bahu sar deve raz na bhanne hu.⁷¹*

Ain: he is a real lover who considers himself a victim of the Beloved, O He; who does not renounce love and turns not away his faces, even if a hundred swords cut him, O He; in whatever direction he sees the rule of his Beloved, there he continues to walk, O He, Bahu, the true love is of Hasan, Husain and Ali who gave their heads but did not break the rule, O He.

The following describes the horrors of the grave suggests that they could be avoided if the corpse bowed the Divine Will:

*Jim jiude ki janan sar moya di so jane jo marda hu
kabara de vicc ann na pani utthe khare tureda gharda hu
ikk vichora ma pyo bhैया duja azab kabarda hu
iman salamat tis da bahu jehra rabb agge sir dharda hu.⁷²*

Jim: what do the living know of the condition of the dead, he alone knows who dies, O He; in graves there is neither food nor water and spending is of one's own house, O He⁷³; first there is the separation of parents and brothers,⁷⁴ second is the trouble of the grave, O He; Bahu, his faith alone there rests safe, who surrenders his head before God, O He.

This extract illustrates well his regard for the *kalma*:⁷⁵

*He hor dava na dil di kari, kalma dil di kari hu
kalma dur jangal kareda kalme mail uttari hu
kalma hire lal jawahar, kalme hat pasari hu
itthe utthe dovi jahani bahu kalma daulat sari hu.*⁷⁶

He: other profession for heart is not efficient, the *kalma* of the heart is efficient, O He; the *kalma* takes the rust away and the *kalma* scrapes off the dirt, O He; the *kalma* is diamond, ruby and precious stones, the *kalma* has extended its shop,⁷⁷ O He; Bahu, here and there in both the worlds the *kalma* is all the wealth,⁷⁸ O He.

Islam is the only true path, says our poet:

*eh dil hijar firako sarda eh dam mare na jive hu
Sacca rah Muhammad vala bahu jai vicc rabb labhive hu.*⁷⁹

This heart is burning with separation, it neither dies nor lives, O He; the true path is the path of Muhammad, along which God is found, O He.

Sources of Information

*Manaqab-i-Sultani*⁸⁰ (in Urdu). This is a translation of the Persian work of the same name. The author of this work was Sultan Hamid, a relative and descendant of the poet Sultan Bahu. The work, though it gives much real information, contains legends of a fabulous character.

*Tarikh makhzan-i-Panjab*⁸¹ by Ghulam Sarvar, in Urdu, also contains some important information about the saint.

Tawarikh Sultan Bahu in Persian. This MS. pamphlet on the life of Sultan Bahu was written by Sultan Bakhsh Qadiri in 1920 and is the property of the Panjab Public Library, Oriental Section.

Many other biographies of saints contain brief descriptions of the life of Bahu, but they are mere extracts from the above-mentioned books.

Of the Panjabi works of Bahu only one book has been published. This is a collection of his verses, the authenticity of which has been well established. The title is *Majmu'a Abyat Sultan Bahu Panjabi*.⁸² It is in Urdu characters and contains a very lengthy *siharfi*.

Another source of information, both on the life-history and the poetry of Bahu, are the *kavvalis*. Though we have not depended on this source for the account of Bahu, yet we cannot help stating that if someone collected material from this source it would be of great value.

1. *Manaqab-i-sultani*, p. 125.
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.*, p.4.
4. Sons of Ali and grandsons of the prophet.
5. *Manaqab-i-Sultani*, p.7.
6. She was known as Bibi Rasti Quds Sara, cf. *ibid.*, p.8.
7. *Manaqab-i-sultani*, p. 40
8. *ibid.*, p. 126
9. *Manaqab-i-sultani*, p. 34.
10. *ibid.*, p. 35. Who this Habib-ullah was we do not know. There were so many of this name at the time. Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* mentions two, one a celebrated poet of Agra and another 'the author of an Arabic work called Bahr-ul-Mantiq or the Sea of Logic'.
11. This Baghdad is different from the famous city of Iraq. Most probably it was a village on the banks of the Ravi.
12. *Manaqab-i-Sultani*, pp. 36-7.
13. *ibid.*, p. 37.
14. *ibid.*, p. 37. This Abdul Rahman could not be any other than the son of Abdul Aziz Naqshbandi. Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh, married his daughter in A.H. 1062 (A.D. 1651). See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 13.
15. *Tawarikh Sultan Bahu*, pp. 8-9. We see no other reason for Bahu's indifference towards Aurangzeb except that either he doubted his attentions or that he disapproved of his treatment of the Sufi saints and friends of the late prince Dara Shikoh whom the Sufi, and especially the Qadiris, loved and counted as one of themselves.
16. *Manaqab-i-Sultani*, pp. 41-2.
17. These Sikh chiefs made this raid in 1766, and it surely must have lasted for at least a year. See Griffith's *Panjab Chiefs*, Vol. I, p. 478
18. *Manaqab-i-Sultani*, p. 130.
19. It must be stated to the credit of the Shikh Sardars that they never hurt the religious feelings of the Mussulmans by despoiling or by pulling down their sacred buildings and other places of worship.
20. *Manaqab-i-Sultani*, p. 130.
21. This unknown person, according to tradition, was Sultan Bahu himself.
22. With due respect to the sentiment of the faithful, we rather if the present tomb contains the ashes of the saint.
23. *Manaqab-i-Sultani*, p. 131.
24. *ibid.*, p. 8.
25. *ibid.*, p. 239.
26. This opinion is confirmed by the place allotted and the indifference shown to valuable

Panjabi manuscript, in the private MS. Collections in the Panjab.

27. As mentioned below, some of it has been published by Mia Fazal Din of Lahore.
28. p. 8. *Yahu*, it is said in the Panjab, is an important efficacious name of God as *Om* in Sanskrit.
29. As mentioned above, Aurangzeb, the emperor, watched his movements attentively. For this very reason, as we have said below, Inayat Shah, the great Qadiri saint, turned away his beloved disciple Bullhe Shah.
30. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p.9.
31. Guddar is worn-out cloth.
32. Majmua Sultan Bahu, p. 9.
33. Alif here means God.
34. Meaning, their ignorance has vanished and they have seen the truth.
35. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 10.
36. Will discuss of its light being so strong as compared to their own light.
37. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 22.
38. In each creature or in the breath of each creature that breathes.
39. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 24.
40. Has disappeared or has left the soul.
41. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 23.
42. Sadhus and dervishes with long, braided hair.
43. By fervently counting the beads.
44. Meaning, has done me a great favour by teaching me the secret, i.e. 'the breath when one is forgetful of God, that breath is false.'
45. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 22.
46. Religion here stands for any established church.
47. Holo signifies humility.
48. It passes low and concealed, i.e. the mystic lover being afraid of the clergy keeps himself hidden from them and is humble.
49. They try to crush the mystics underfoot and create trouble for them, but to the lover these kicks and troubles appear like that auspicious song which is sung at marriage celebrations indicating the approaching union?
50. Where no one professes anything i.e. where there are seekers but no professors of paths.
51. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 16.
52. This obeisance is made during the five daily prayers of the Muhammadans.
53. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p.21.
54. Waiting upon him at each minute of the day and night is like Pilgrimage to the ka'aba.
55. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 14.
56. A name of Abdul Qadir Jilani.
57. The papers containing the account of my bad deeds.
58. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 16
59. The different parts of the lover's body burn in the fire of love, hence they are fuel.
60. The warmth or suffering is experienced by the lovers, i.e. their souls.
61. Meaning, those who attain love (i.e. the Beloved's love) are rare though thousands try to have it.
62. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 11.
63. Should constantly seek the Beloved.
64. So that he, recognizing the search, will accept the lover.
65. When the lovers hearts have become pure and follow the Beloved (i.e. when they see Him in all and love Him in all) then they have attained light. And so they leave the

church.

66. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 8.

67. Purity without God is uncleanness is not by professing the so-called pure religions that one attains salvation, but by loving God.

68. 'Some', says Bahu, 'attained Union remaining in the idol-house or in a religion that prescribes idolatry and is therefore considered to be impure by Islam, while many mosque-going people believed to be pure could no attain it', because they were attached to the letter and not to the Spirit.

69. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 16.

70. Hassnain stands for both Hasan and Husain

71. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 16.

72. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p.9

73. That is, the time is spent according to one's own actions, good or bad.

74. Brother here means relatives and friends.

75. The kalma is the profession of the Muhammadan faith.

76. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 24.

77. Extending its shop 'means that the kalma is spreading or that Islam is progressing.

78. That is, the kalma is the greatest wealth as its repetition wins the pleasures of the world and heaven.

79. Majmu'a Sultan Bahu, p. 4.

80. Husain Steam Press, Lahore.

81. Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1877.

82. Compiled by Mia Fazal Din of Lahore in 1915. Can be had from Allah vale ki kaumi Dukan, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, or Inkilab Press, Lahore.

BULLHE SHAH

(A.D.1680-1758)

BULLHE SHAH is universally admitted to have been the greatest of the Panjabi mystics. No Panjabi mystic poet enjoys a wider celebrity and a greater reputation. His *kafis* have gained unique popularity. In truth he is one of the greatest Sufis of the world and his thought equals that of Jalal-ud-din Rumi and Shams Tabriz of Persia. As a poet Bullhe Shah is different from the other Sufi poets of the Panjab, and represents that strong and living pious nature of Panjabi character which is more reasonable than emotional or passionate.¹ As he was an outcome of the traditional mystic thought we can trace some amount of mystic phraseology and sentiment in his poetry but, in the main, intellectual Vedantic thought is its chief characteristic.

He was born in a Saiyid family residing at, the village Pandoki of Kasur in the Lahore district, in the year A.D. 1680.² This was during the twenty-first year of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign.³ According to C. F. Usborne⁴ he died in A.H. 1171 or A.D. 1785 (i.e. in the short reign of Alamgir the Second) at the ripe old age of 78. The *kavvalis* say that he was brought up and educated on strictly Muhammadan lines, as was the wont of Saiyid family in those days. C. F. Usborne says that his father was a man of dervishic ideas.⁵ It is difficult to decide between these two contradictory statements. But taking into consideration the political situation of the times and the various legends that have gathered round the saint's life, we can safely say that the *kavvalis* are right. The Saiyids of Kasur were said to be well known for their bigotry were much enraged when Bullhe Shah became a Sufi and a disciple of the Arai Inyat Shah. We conclude therefore that Bullhe Shah's father could not have been a man of theosophic disposition and what C.F. Usborne meant by dervishic ideas was that he was a religious man.

After completing his education, it is said that Bullha went to Lahore. Of the two traditions, one says that, as was customary in those days, he came to Lahore in search of a spiritual teacher, while the other relates that he went there on a visit. Each of these two contradictory

traditions has a legend to support it. The first relates that while he was busy searching the intellectual circles of Lahore to find out a competent master he heard of Shah Inayat's greatness and decided to make him his *murshid*. He turned his steps towards the house of the Shah, and found him engrossed in his work in the garden.⁶ Having introduced himself, Bullha requested that he might be accepted a disciple and taught the secret of God. Thereupon Inayat said:

*Bullhia rabb da pan ai
edharo puttan odharo lan hai.*⁷

O Bullha the secret of God is this; on this side He uproots, on the other side He creates.

'This', says the tradition. 'so impressed Bullha that, forgetting his family and its status, he became Inayat Shah's disciple.'⁸

The second tradition says that Shah Inayat was the head gardener of the Shalimar gardens of Lahore. When in Lahore, Bullhe Shah visited them, and as it was summer, he roamed in the mango-groves. Desirous of tasting the fruit he looked round for the guardian but, not finding him there, he decided to help himself. To avoid the sin of stealing, he looked at the ripe fruit and said; '*allah ghani*'.⁹ On the utterance of these magic words a mango fell into his hands. He repeated them several times, and thus collected a few mangoes. Tying them up in his scarf¹⁰ he moved on to find a comfortable place where he could eat them. At this time he met the head gardener, who accused him of stealing the fruit from the royal gardens. Considering him to be a man of low origin and desirous of demonstrating to him his occult powers, Bullha said ironically: 'I have not stolen the mangoes but they have fallen into my hands as you will presently see.' He uttered '*allah ghani*' and the fruit came into his hand. But to his great surprise the young Saiyid found that Inayat Shah was not at all impressed but was smiling innocently. The great embarrassment of Bullhe Shah inspired pity in the gardener's heart and he said: 'You do not know how to pronounce properly the holy words and so you reduce their power.' So saying, he uttered '*allah ghani*', and all the fruits in the gardens fell on the lovely lawns. Once again he repeated the same and the fruit went back on to the trees. This defeat inflicted by the guardian, whom the young Saiyid Bullhe Shah considered ignorant and low,

revolutionized his whole thought. Falling at the feet of Inayat Shah he asked to be classed as his disciple and his request was immediately granted.¹¹

The above two traditions, though different in detail, come to the same conclusion, that Bullha, impressed by the greatness of Inayat, became his disciple. Bullhe Shah in his verse often speaks of his master Inayat Shah and thanks his good luck for having met such a *murshid*.

*Bullha shauh ve nic kamini
Shauh inayat tari.*¹²

Says Bullha, O God the Lord Inayat has saved me, low and mean.

And:

*Bullhe Shah di suno hakait
hadi pakria hog hadait
mera murshid Shah Inayat
Uh langhaai par.*¹³

Listen to the story of Bullhe Shah, he has got hold of the *pir* and shall have salvation. My teacher, Shah Inayat, he will take me across.

In an account of the Panjabi poets it would perhaps be out of place to speak at great length of Shah Inayat who wrote in Persian.¹⁴ But the influence exerted by him through his teachings and writings has linked him with Panjabi literature. Bullha the Rumi of the Panjab, came most directly under his influence and, having learnt from him, was inspired to write his remarkable poetry. It will therefore, be proper to give here a short account of this wonderful man.

Inayat and his School¹⁵

Hazrat Shaikh Muhammad Inayat-ullah, generally known as Shah Inayat Qadiri, was born at Kasur in the Lahore district, of *arais* parents. The arias in the Panjab were gardeners or petty cultivators. They are known to be Hindu converts to Islam and are therefore considered inferior by Muhammadans. Rose, in his *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab*, writes: 'The nucleus of this caste was probably a body of Hindu Saini or Kamboh cultivators who were

converted to Islam at an early period.¹⁶ Ibbetson and Wilson are also of the same opinion, and their view is supported by traditions of some *aria* sub-castes who claim descent from Hindu princes of solar and lunar races.¹⁷

The descendants of Shah Inayat, however, claim descent from Kulab, an ancestor of the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁸ The genealogical tree which Shaik Siraj-ud-din has kindly furnished, however, cannot convince us of Inayat Shah's Arabian descent. Almost all names between the present descendant and Kulab are Hindu names.¹⁹ The *arias*²⁰ according to all available information, appear to be Indian Muslims and Shah Inayat was born in one such well-to-do family. The date and year of Inayat's birth are not known, but one of his manuscripts, containing an endorsement in his own handwriting and also his seal, bears the date A.H. 1110²¹ (A.D. 1699). From this we can conclude that he was a contemporary of Aurangzeb and perhaps saw a part of the reign of Shah Jahan. The *Wazaif-i-Kalan* gives the year of his death as A.H. 1147 (A.D. 1735) during the time of Emperor Muhammad Shah.²² He was educated after the manner of his time and gained a good knowledge of Persian and Arabic. As he was born with a mystic disposition he became a disciple of the famous Sufi scholar and saint Muhammad Ali Raza Shattari.²³ After he had finished his studies he was created a *khalifa*. Later on he received the *khilafat* of seven other sub-sects of the Sufi Qadiri. Soon after this event he left Kasur and migrated to Lahore. The author of *Bagh-i-Awliya-e-Hind* says that the great enmity of the Hakim Husain Khan compelled him to migrate,²⁴ but his descendants assert that it was the order of his teacher that brought him to Lahore.²⁵ Here after having quelled the jealousy of his famous contemporaries, he established a college of his own. To this college came men of education for further studies in philosophy and other spiritual sciences of the time.²⁶

The Doctrines of Inayat Shah

The Qadiris of the Panjab were famous for their philosophic studies. It was their influence that had converted prince Dara Shikoh.²⁷ They were very much inclined towards Hindu philosophy. Shah Inayat was no exception to this rule. He was a man of scholarly disposition, and wrote several books, as well as commentaries upon the works of his predecessors. In his *Dastur-ul-Amal*²⁸ he described the different

methods employed for the attainment of salvation ²⁹ by the Hindus of ancient times. These various methods he classes in different groups—the seventh and the last group, according to him, being efficacious to procure for seeker the spiritual stage of *Parma-Hamsa*. This knowledge, Inayat believed, was carried by the Greek soldiers of Alexander the Great to Greece, from where it was borrowed by the mystics of Islam.³¹

Shah Inayat, besides his enunciation of Hindu thought wrote considerably of Sufiism and its development. He it said to have written a commentary on the Holy *Quran*, but that is not available. The following are his Persian works, now in the possession of his *khalifa* descendant, Shaikh Siraj-ud-din:

Islah-ul-Amal work on Sufiism and Sufi practices.

Lataif Ghaibia

Irshad-ul-talibin ³²

Notes on *Jawahir Khamsa* of Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior.³³

In addition to these, Inayat Shah is said to have written many other books. But the fire that broke out in the house of his descendants, during the troubled times that followed the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, consumed them along with the vast library left by the saint.³⁴

Such was the man whom Bullha Shah made his hadi or guru. This action of Bullha, however, was highly displeasing to his family. His relatives tried to induce him to give up Inayat and find another *murshid*. But Bullha was firm and paid no attention to them or to their wailings. The following will sufficiently demonstrate the indignation of the family:

*Bullhe nu samjhavan aiya bhaina to bharjaiya
al nabi aulad ali di bullhia tu ki lika laiya
mann lai bullhia sada kahna chadd de palla raiya*

To Bullha sisters and sisters-in-law came to explain (advise). Why, O Bullha, have you blackened the family³⁵ of the Prophet and the descendants of Ali? Listen to our advice, Bullha, and leave the skirt of the *aria*.³⁶

To this reproach Bullha firmly but indifferently replies:

*Jehra sanu saiyyad akkhe dozakh miln sajaiya
Jehra sanu rai akkhe bahishti piga paiya
Je tu lore bag bahara Bullhia Talib ho ja raiya.*³⁷

He who calls me a Saiyid, shall receive punishments in Hell, he who calls me an *arai* shall in heaven have swings; O Bullha, if you want pleasures of the garden become a disciple of the *aria*.

Bullha seems to have suffered at the hands of his family, as he has once or twice mentioned in his poetry.³⁸ In the end, being convinced of the sincere love and regard of their child for Inayat Shah, the family left him alone. It is said that one of his sisters, who understood her brother, gave him her support and encouraged him in his search for truth.³⁹

Having broken with the family, Bullha came to live with his teacher and soon mastered the secret of his teachings. As the political situation of the times was against the Sufis and especially against the Sufis of Inayat Shah's type, he forbade Bullha, to speak freely and openly against the established Muhammadan beliefs. But Bullha did not pay heed to his master's valuable advice, as is clear from this.

*Bullhe nu lok matti dede bullha tu ja baih masiti
vicc masita de kih kujh hunda jo dilo namaz na kitti
bahro pak kitte kih hunda jo andaro gai a paliti
bin murshid kamil bullhia teri aive gai ibadat kitti*

*Bhatth namaza te cikkar roze kalme to phir gai saiahi
Bullha shah shauh andaro milia bhulli phire lukai*⁴⁰

To Bullha people give advice (saying). O Bullha, go and in the mosque; what avails it going to the mosque, if the heart has not said the prayer? What matters it being pure outside when from inside dirt has not gone? Without a perfect teacher, says Bullha, your prayers are of no avail. Into the fire the prayers! in the mud the fast of *ramzan*! Over the *kalma* black has passed. Says Bullha Shah, the Lord is met from within me, but the people are searching elsewhere.

Such utterances annoyed Shah Inayat, who practiced *Haqiqat* (reality) in the garb of *Tariqat*⁴¹ to escape the fate that so many Sufis in Islamic lands had met before.⁴² But Bullha, with the enthusiasm of a new

convert, would not listen to his good counsel. This act of disobedience made Inayat Shah extremely angry and so he sent him away. After some time, realizing the truth of his master advice. Bullha Shah regretted his attitude and wanted to go back to him. He tried all devices but Shah Inayat ignored him. The only way then left open to Bullha was to approach him personally. But how was he to do that? He, however, knew his master's love for music and dancing. So he began to learn the arts from a dancing girl. When he had learnt them sufficiently he came to Lahore and waited for an opportunity. One day when Inayat Shah had entered a mosque, Bullha Shah, dressed as a woman, began to sing and dance outside it. People gathered round him as is the custom. Attracted by the music Inayat also came and stopped. Bullha then was singing:

*Vatt na karsa man rajhete yar da ve aria
Ishk allah di zat loka da mehna, kai val kara pukar kise nahi rahina
use da hal uho jane, kaun koi dam marda ve aria⁴⁴*

Never again shall I bear pride for my friend Rajha (God), O comrade; love is an attribute of God but for people it is a taunt (i.e. it becomes a thing to be taunted about). Whom shall I call (my own because) no one is to stay (live eternally); his (one who loves) condition He (God, the Rajha) alone knows, who is there that remains alive, O comrade.

When he was singing thus, he saw his master among his audience, and so he continued:

*Vatt ni karsa man rajhete yar da ve aria
ajjajokari rat mere ghar rahi kha ve aria
dil dia ghundhia khol asa nal hass kha ve aria.⁴⁵*

Never again shall I bear pride for my beloved Rajha (God), O friend; tonight do stay in my house, O friend; undo the knots of your heart and laugh with me, O friend.

This was sufficient for Inayat to know who the singer was. Coming near he asked, 'O Singer, are you not Bullha?' 'No, *hazrat*,' replied the singer, 'I am not Bullha but Bhulla', (i.e. repentant).⁴⁶ He was forgiven and once again he came to live with his master. He remained with him till the day of his death.

The Mystic Life of Bullhe Shah

The mystic life of Bullhe Shah has three well-marked periods.

First Period

His meeting with Inayat Shah and his conversion to the Sufi doctrines mark the first of the three periods. This Period was chiefly spent in study, but he also wrote some verse. These compositions were in the style of the traditional poetry of the Panjab, i.e. simple but emotional and sentimental. From the literary point of view, poetry of Bullha, though graceful and charming, is weak in thought and is yet therefore, very commonplace.

Here is an example:⁴⁷

*Dil loce mahi yar nu, dil loce mahi yar nu
ikk hass hass galla kardia, ikk rodia dhodia phirdia
kahio phulli basant bahar nu
Dil lece, etc.
mai nhati dhoti raihi gai, ikk gandh mahi dil baihi gai
bhah laie har shingar nu
Dil loce, etc.
Mai dutia ghail kitia, sula gher cuphero littia
Ghar ave mahi didar nu
Dil loce, etc.
Bullha hun sajan ghar aia, mai ghut rajhan gal laia
Dekh gae samundaro par nu.
Dil loce, etc.*

Heart craves for friend beloved, heart craves for friend beloved, some (girls, i.e. lovers) laugh and laughingly converse, others crying and wailing wander, say in this blossomed season of Spring. Heart craves, etc.

I washed and bathed in vain, one knot (grudge) now has settled in my heart, O beloved (for not coming) let me put fire to (undo) my toilet. Heart craves, etc.

The tunts have wounded me, acute pains have surrounded me; the beloved should come for self-manifestation (to show himself to the lover). Heart craves, etc.

Bullha, now the friend has come home, I have embraced hard my Rajha; Behold us crossing the ocean. Heart craves, etc.

The above, though a famous kafi, fails to reach that height of thought and force of character which are so characteristic of Bullha's poetry.

In this period Bullha was still attached to his Islam theological ideas which later on he shook in the believes in the idea of heaven, hell and earth, which he not understand later on. Witness this:

*Bullha shauh bin koi nahi aithe utthe dohi sarai
Sambhal sambhal kadam tikai phir avan duji var nahi
Utth jag ghurare mar nahi.*⁴⁸

Bullha without the Lord there is none here (earth) and there heaven and hell) in both the place. Carefully, carefully let your feet fall (take the step) as for a second time you shall come. Awake, arise and snore no more.

During this period he yet fears death and the grave, as would a pious Muhammadan.

*ikk roz jahano jana hai
Ja kabre vicc samana hai
Tera ghosht kiria khana hai
Kar cetta mano visar nahi
Utth jag ghurare mar nahi.*⁴⁹

One day you have to part from the world, in the grave you have to fit, your flesh the insects will eat, remember this, do not forget from your heart. Awake, arise and snore no more.

Here he is still clinging to the Islamic belief of only one life and does not believe in transmigration which he will later accept as part of his Advaitism:

*Tu es jahano jaegi, phir kadam na ehthe paegi
eh joban rup vanjhaegi
Tai rahina vice sansar nahi. ⁵⁰*

From this world you will part, never again shall you put your feet here; you will then take leave of this youth and beauty, you are not to live in the world.

This Preliminary stage of Bullha's mystic life does not seem to have lasted long as there is very little verse in this tone. But undue importance is given to this poetry by the Sufis of the orthodox type, because this helps them to save Bullhe Shah from being called a 'heretic'.

Second Period

The Second stage of Bullha's mystic life perhaps began very soon after the commencement of the first. During this period he assimilated more of the India outlook. Here he resembles both the advanced type of Sufi and a Vaisnava devotee in thought, in religious emotions and in his adoration of the pir or guru. Like them he places the guru and God on the same level and finds no difference between the two. The following resembles so closely the Vaisnava lore in idea and emotion that, were it not for the name Bullha at the end, it would be hard to distinguish it:

*Ikk andheri Kothari duja diva na vati
Baho phar ke lai cale sham ve koi sang na sathi. ⁵¹*

There is only one dark chamber (world) without any lamp or wick (hope). Holding my wrist they (bad actions) are taking me, O sham, unaccompanied and companionless.

In the above we find not only the Vaisnava feeling, but even the name Sham given to God is Vaisnava.

Again

*Bhave jan na jan ve vehre a var mere
Mai tere kurban ve vehre a var mere*

Tere jiha mainu horn a koi dhunda jangai beli rohi
Dhunda ta sara jahan ve vehre a var mere
Mai tere kurban ve vehre a var mere
Loka de bhane cak mahi da rajha loka vicc kahida
Sada ta din iman ve, vehre a var mere
Mai tere kurban ve vehre a var mere
Mape chor laggi lar tere, shah inayat sai mere
Laia di lajj pal ve vehre a var mere
*Mai tere kurban ve vehre a var mere*⁵²

Whether you consider me (as loved one) or not, O come, enter my courtyard,⁵³ I sacrifice myself for thee, O come, enter my courtyard. For me there is none else like you, I search the jungles and wastes for my friend, I search the whole world, O come, enter my courtyard; I sacrifice myself for you, come, enter my courtyard. For others you are a cowherd,⁵⁴ I call you Ranjha when in company (but) you are my religion and faith. O come, enter my courtyard; I sacrifice myself for you come, enter my courtyard. Leaving parents I have held your garment,⁵⁵ O Lord have compassion⁵⁶ my master save meth the shame of this long love (by coming back), O enter my courtyard; I sacrifice myself for you, come, enter my courtyard. Bullha's adoration and respect for his *guru* are profound. He finds no difference between God and his hadi, and sings to him in the same strain as to God:

Pahili pauri prem di pulsarate dera
Haji makke hajj karn mai mukh dekha tera
Ai inayat qadiri hatth pakri mera
Mai udika kar rahi kadi a kar dera
Dhund shahir sabh bhalia kasad ghalla kehra
Carhi a doli prem di dil dharke mera
*Ao inayat qadiri ji cahe mera.*⁵⁷

The first step of love (on the ladder of love) is (like) being on the *pulsar*.⁵⁸ Pilgrims may perform *hajj* but I look to your face. Come, Inayat Qadiri, and hold my hand (be my support). I am waiting, come, some time and make a stay. I have searched the whole town, what messenger⁵⁹ shall I send? Having mounted the palanquin of love my heart (now) palpitates; come, Inayat Qadiri, my heart desires you.

At this time Bullhe Shah also began to believe in *karmas*, which is an entirely Indian theory. Here he refers to his bad action thus:

Ved pothi ki dosh hai hine karam hamare ⁶⁰

What fault is it of the book ved, ⁶¹my *karmas* are low.

At the end of the second period Bullhe Shah appears to have some vision of the Lord he was seeking. He had the vision which the Sufi long to have, but he had not as yet attained that stage where differences vanish away. He got his vision in the orthodox fashion. He was not conscious of it every moment of his life. It was an occasional occurrence. He had that divine vision like the great Sufis and the Bhagatas, through the paths indicated by their respective religions. Like them, Bullhe Shah's vision of the Lord was also tinged with the colors of Islam. He sings of his vision in the traditional way, exalting the Prophet and through the verses of his Qur'an:

*Hum mai lakkhia sohna yar, jis de husan da garm bazaar
Jad ahad ikk ikkla, si, na zahar koi tajalla si
Na rabb rasul na allah si na zabar kahar
Becu va bacaguna si be shubha be namuna si
Na koi rang namuna si, hun gunagu hazar.
Piara pahin pushaka aia, adam apana nam dharaia
Ahad to ban ahmad aia, nabia da sardar
Kun kaha fakun kahaia, becuni se cu banaia
Ahad de vicc mim ralaia ta kitta aid pasar.* ⁶²

Now I have seen the handsome friend whose beauty's demand is great. When the One was single and alone there was no light manifest. There was neither God and the Prophet or Allah, nor was there the cruel tyrant. The One was without likeness and incomparable, and without doubt and without form. He had no color or shape, (but) now a thousand varieties. The dear One wearing the costumes came, and Adam got his name fixed. From the One, *Ahmad* was made and the chief of the Prophets. He said *kun* and *fayakun* was said, so out of no likeness He created likeness. In *ahad* He inserted *mim* (i.e. produced Ahmad) and then made the universe. ⁶³

Third Period

The third and the last period of Bullha's mystic life was unique. Here he resembles no Sufi or Vaisnava of the Panjab or the rest of India. During this time he is a firm believer *in advaita* and sees that all-pervading spirit. God, in all and independently of all religions. Like a true vedantist he does not only see Him in friends and co-believers but in heathens and opponents also. Here lies his greatness. He says:

*Kih karda ni kih karda
Koi puccho kha dilbar ki karda
ap ikko kai lakkh gharda de, malak sab ghar ghar da
kih karda, etc.
musa ate pharun banu ke, do hoke kiu larda
kih karda, etc.
hazar nazar tuhe hai, cueack kits u kharda
Kih karda, etc.*⁶⁴

What does He, friends, what does He? Does someone ask what the Beloved does? He is one, but the houses are millions and He is lord of every house. What does He, friends, what does He? Whatever side I glance I find Him. He keeps company with each one. Creating Moses and Pharaoh (thus) becoming two, why does he fight? What does He, friend, what does He? You are ever omnipresent, (then) whom does Cucak⁶⁵ take away? What does He, friends, what does He? Does someone ask what the Beloved does?

And again

*paia hai kujh paia hai, sattguru ne allakh lakhaia ha
kahu vair para kahu beli hai, kahu majnu hai kahu laili hai
kahu ap guru kahu celi hai, sabh apana rah dikhaia hai
kahu cor bana kahu shah ji hai, kahu mambar te bahi kazi hai
kahu teg bahadur gazi hai, ap apana panth bataia hai
kahu masjid ka vartara hai, kahu bania thakar dvara hai
kahu bairagi jap dhara hai, kahu shekhan ban ban aia hai
kahu turak musalla parhde ho, kahu bhagat hindhu jap karde ho

kahu gor kani vicc parde ho, har ghar ghar lad, ladaia hai
bullha shahu da mai muhtaj hua, mahraj mile mera kaj hua
barshan pia da ilaj hua, lagga ishk ta eh gun gaia hai
paia hai kujh paia hai.*⁶⁶

I have found, I have found something. My true quru has made manifest the Unmanifest. Somewhere It ⁶⁷ is an enemy, some-where It is a friend, somewhere It is Majnu, somewhere It is Laila, somewhere It is the preceptor, somewhere It is the disciple, in all It has manifested Its own path. Somewhere It is a thief, somewhere a bestower of gifts, somewhere sitting in the Pulpit It is a *qazi*, somewhere It is Tegh Bahadur ⁶⁸ the *ghzi* who has told of his own path (sect). Somewhere It as a mosque ⁶⁹ is in use, somewhere It has become a temple, ⁷⁰ some-where. It is a *vairagi* in meditation absorbed, somewhere It becomes clad, clad as *shaikhs*, somewhere as Muslims on the *musalla* ⁷¹ read the prayers, somewhere as Hindu devotees re-peat God's name. Somewhere You are engaged in digging graves in each house, ⁷² You (God) are fondly fondled. Bullha says, of the Master (God) I became desirous, the great king (Inayat) met (me) and my work (with) was done (realized). For the manifestation of the dear One (God) was my cure, for having loved (God) I have sung (i.e. have been able to sing) this attribute (of God).

This highly intellectual and clear conception of the divine was only possible to a few great mystics like Bayazid Bistami, Al-Hallaj, and Jalal-ud-din Rumi. Yet we might mention here that they obtained this after having spent their lives in established dogmas, willingly or unwillingly, and after having struggled hard to become free of them. ⁷³ But Bullhe Shah appears to have obtained the *advaita conception* of God soon after his initiation into Sufiism, because his poetry abounds in this strain. Among the Indian Sufis we hardly find another who beheld God as clearly in all creation, bad or good, as Bullha did. If there were any possible exceptions they would be Mulla Shah ⁷⁴ and Sarmad. ⁷⁵ Mulla Shah, though in no way inferior to Bullha in his pantheistic philosophy and its realization in life yet lacked the moral courage to declare it. Possibly out of fear he attached importance to such religious prescriptions as *Ramzan* and the obligatory daily prayers. ⁷⁶ Sarmad, the cynic philosopher, who walked about naked in the streets of Delhi, though he had reached the highest state of mysticism, as is clear from the following could not get free from the superiority of the Jewish theology.

My friend, the naked sword Thou comest I know Thee, in whatever guise Thou comest.⁷⁷

His denial of Christ as prophet on the authority of the Old Testament,⁷⁸ and his other belief that God was material substance symbolized by a human figure,⁷⁹ did not accord with his pantheistic thought. Were he a true pantheist he would see God in all teachers and not Only in Muhammad and deny him in Christ. This difference between the pantheistic concepts of Bullha and of Sarmad illustrates the fact that the latter realized the Truth only partially and at moments, while the former lived with Truth and in Truth. Bullha sees, the Beloved in all and ignores the 'mirror in which He reflected. If the Beloved is not seen in full grandeur in the meanest of the mean and the lowest of the low as well as in the highest and the best, then the lover has not found him. The Beloved is ever the same and if the lover sees Him differently in different creatures, then whose is the fault? The lover's surely, who has not yet fully realized Him. Bullha had reached that stage where proportion, differences and pairs of opposites do not exist. He saw God in Muhammad as well as in Christ, Krishna, a poor beggar in the street, or his own self. Witness this:

*Bindraban me gau carave,
Lanka car ken ad vajave
Makke da ban hajiave
Vah vah rang vatai da
Hun ki thi ap chapaida.⁸⁰*

In Brindaban you grazed the cattle, invading Lanka⁸¹ you made the sound (of victory), you (again) come as the pilgrim of Mekka, you have made wonderful changes of form, what are you hiding yourself from now ?

And:

*Saiyo hun sajan mai paio I,
Har har de vic samaio i.⁸²*

Ofriends, now I have found the Beloved, into each and every one He has entered.

The superiority of Bullha's pantheistic conception of Godhead lies in the fact that he broke all shackles of country, religion, convention and sect. The integrity of the universal soul and His omnipresence so deeply convinced him that no differences existed for him. He became one with Him, the divine, and experienced that cosmopolitan joy which knows no limits and divisions. He says :

*Bullha ki jana mai kaun
na mai moman vicc masita, na mai vicc kufar dia rita
na mai paka vicc palita, na mai musa na phiraun
bullha ki jana mai kaun
na mai andar vaid kataba, na vicc bhanga na sharaba
Na vicc rinda mast kharaba, na vicc jagan navicc saun
bullha ki jana mai kaun
na vicc shadi na gamnaki, na mai vicc paliti paki
na mai abi na mai khaki, na mai atish na mai paun
bullha ki jana mai kaun
na mai arbi na lahauri, na mai hindi shahir nagauri
na mai hindu turk pashori, na mai rahinda vicc nadaun
bullha ki jana mai kaun
na mai bhed mazhab da paia, na mai adam hava jaia
na mai apna nam dharaia, na vicc baithan na vicc bhaun
bullha ki jana mai kaun
avval akhar ap nu jana, na koi duja hor pachana
maitho hor na koi siana, Bullha shahu khara hai kaun.
bullha ki Jana mai kaun.⁸³*

Bullha, what do I know who I am?⁸⁴ Neither am I a Muslim in the mosque nor am I in the ways of paganism, nor among the pure or sinful, nor am I Moses or the Pharaoh; Bullha, what do I know who I am? Neither in the books of doctors I, nor indulged I in *bhan*⁸⁵ and wine, nor in the wine-house in the company of the bad, neither awake nor asleep. Bullha, what do I know who I am? Neither in happiness nor in sorrow, nor in sin or purity nor of water nor of earth, nor in fire nor in air. Bullha, what do I know who I am? I am not of Arabia nor of Lahore, nor an Indian nor of the city of Nagaur, neither a Hindu nor a Muslim of Peshawar, nor do I live in Nadaun. Bullha, what do I know who I am? Neither have I found the secret of religion, nor of Adam

and Eve am I born, neither have I taken a name, my life is neither settled nor unsettled. Bullha, what do I know who I am? Myself I know as the first and the last, none else as second do I recognize, none else is wiser than I. Bullha, who is the true master?

Such pantheism with all its grandeur, according to Mr. Kremer has also a dangerous side and tends to atheism and materialism while the passage from it to most cynical Epicureanism is also a very natural thing.⁸⁶ True as the statement is, it does not apply to the pantheism of Bullha Shah. He was not an exception to the rule like Mulla Shah and Prince Dara Shikoh and a few others,⁸⁷ but he was a pantheist of a different type. We have stated above that the pantheism of Bullha Shah was Hindu in its entirety and therefore differed a good deal from the pantheism of the Sufis? Bullha's pantheistic thought was accompanied by its allied doctrines, reincarnation and *karma*. He disagreed with the Sufis who believed 'qu'il n'y pas d'existence, individuelle apres la mort.'⁸⁸ He was aware of the fact that (complete annihilation, for which the real mystic soulcraves, could not be obtained in one life, (being not so easy as It is ordinarily thought to be), but demanded many existences)? And then it was not many lives or ecstatic contemplations alone that made annihilation possible. His secret of merging in the Universal Spirit was based on *karma*. When the mind and the heart had entirely purged themselves of all sin, when passion and ambition to achieve material happiness had vanished completely, when God was ever present in his thought and act, and when the only material tie was a sense of rightful duty without attachment, then alone was the seeker fit to lose his individual existence after death, and not before. This was an impossible task to accomplish, as even small steps away from the right path might cause another life or render the seeker unfit for complete *fana*. (The seeker therefore dreaded atheism and a plunge in material pleasures more than indulgence in them. This unique phase of Bullha's conviction made his pantheism free from all danger of becoming materialism or atheism.)? Another superiority of Bullha over other Sufis was that he never took part in the work of conversion.⁸⁹ His *advaita* which was Indian in its essence, had so overpowered him, nay had transformed him in such a way that any sort of conversion, mass or individual, was beyond his understanding. He had understood the real sense of *ana'l-Haq'* and so to think of conversion from one religion to another was to mock his own belief. All religions to him were the same, no one

was more efficient than another in finding the Beloved. It is evident from his poetry that it was the zeal and the sincerity of the seeker for the sought that was taken into account, and not the religion he was born in. We can, therefore, say that in this respect no Sufi of any country can venture to dispute the spiritual summits which Bullha attained.⁹⁰

After the death of Inayat, Bullhe Shah returned to Kasur. He remained faithful to his Beloved and to him-self by not marrying. The sister who understood him also remained single and kept him company in his last years. He died in A.D. 1758 and was buried in Kasur, where his tomb still exists.

Bullha, says the tradition, was not understood by his own family and people,⁹¹ who gave him up for lost. But he had captivated the hearts of the Panjabis and had the support of the masses. For the Panjabis he is still alive, Inspiring them to sing of the eternal Beloved with whom he has become one.

The Poetry of Bulleh Shah

Sufi poetry all over the world is erotic in expression, but in meaning. It is essentially symbolic. 'Almost all the Sufi poets wrote about the Divine Beloved in the terms applied to their beautiful women.'⁹² The mystic poetry, therefore, if literally taken seems sensuous and monotonous. In India the Sufi inherited this tradition with the difference that while in Persia and other Islamic countries the Beloved was described both as man and woman, in India. He became a man, and the seeker or the lover became a woman. This essential change is due to Hindu, especially Vaisnava, Influence.⁹³ Apart from this the Sufis generally borrowed from the Persians, as we have mentioned above, the terms for describing the different parts of the Beloved. Even the rose garden and the bulbul, which are characteristic of Persian verse, were unhesitatingly borrowed. In Panjabi Sufi poetry, however, the influence was much less than in other literary forms. Bullhe Shah, the king of the Panjabi mystics, seems free from this foreign influence, and his poetry is far from being erotic. Apart from a very few poems which he wrote in the early part of his mystic Life, his verse is entirely exempt from human love. No doubt he called Him the Beloved and Ranjha, but never went on to describe his different

limbs. During the third period of his Sufi life the Beloved was the all-pervading universal soul and so there was a difference between two beings belonging to different sexes. If there was some physical difference, it was immaterial to the poet. So Bullha talked of the eternal Beloved in terms highly spiritual and pure, as behaves a real seeker. This was an innovation Bullha brought about in the Panjabi Sufi verse.⁹⁴ The change was due to the following causes. Firstly, there was the natural growth of his own character. He never sought the shelter of a woman's love. He fell in love with the universal Lord and, therefore, found worldly love entirely superfluous. This was the first and the chief cause why his poetry was essentially non-erotic. Secondly, it was due to the growth of his spirituality. Once he had cast off the veil of ignorance and had found the Lord, he had found his own self. He therefore could not write poetry in the material sense, following tradition and poetic convention. Nowhere in his *kafis* do we find fabulous descriptions of the eyes, nose, neck, cheeks, etc. of the Beloved. So we can safely say that his poetry represents truly *what* is naturally felt in loving the divine. His verse is suffused with the love divine. This is the greatness of Bullhe Shah the poet.

The second reason for his greatness is that his verse is most simple, yet very beautiful in form. If it is pathetic it is full of vivacity, if it is intellectual it is full of feeling. It has no ornamental beauty. Its beauty lies in thought and in the facility and simplicity with which that thought is expressed. Who could express with greater facility his union with God?

*Rajha rajha kardi ni mai ape rajha hoi
saddo ni mainu dhido rajha, hir na akko koi
rajha mai vicc mai rajhe vicc hor khial na koi
mai nahi uh ape hai, appni ap kare dil joi
rajha rajha kardi ni mai ape rajha hoi
saddo ni mainu dhido rajha hir na akho koi
hatth khundi mere agge mangu, modhe bhura loi
Bullha hir saleti dekho, kitthe ja khaloi
Rajha rajha kardi ni mai ape rajha hoi
Saddo ni mainu dhido rajha, hir na akho koi.*⁹⁵

Repeating Rajha Rajha, friends, myself I have become Rajha. Call me (now) Dhido⁹⁶ Rajha, none should call me Hir. Rajha is in me and I am in Rajha, no other thought there is, I do not exist, He himself exists, He amuses himself. Repeating Rajha Rajha, etc. In my hand the staff, before me the wealth,⁹⁷ and round my shoulders the rough blanket; Bullha, behold Hir of Sial, where she has gone and stood. Repeating Rajha Rajha, friends, etc.

Bullha also did not follow the conventions regarding the similes, verse-forms and *alankaric* beauties. Here lies his Poetic originality in which he excels most of his Indian and almost all of his Panjabi Sufi contemporaries, predecessor and Successors.

Bullha did not write much, but what he wrote was inspired and to the point. A great amount of poetry is said to have been composed by the poet, but one can easily distinguish the real from the counterfeit by the force and strength of the language and the directness of thought which is so characteristic of Bullh's verse.

We have already seen how familiar he was with all that was Panjabi in tradition and beauty, and how gracefully he spoke of it. He never attempted to explore those regions of which he had no real knowledge. He was a child of the Panjab and so sang in his mother-tongue, in the old original verse-forms of his land, taking his similes from the life that was familiar to him. His poetry, though remarkably abstract, is not incomprehensible. We give below a few of his *kafis* or their literary interest:

*Meri bukkal de vicc cor ni, meri bukkal de vicc cor
kihnu kuk sunava ni, meri bukkal de vicc cor
cori cori nikal gia ni, jagg vicc paigia shor
meri bukkal de vicc cor
musalman sivia to dared, hindu garde gor
dove ese de vicc marde, iho doha di khor
Meri bukkal de vicc cor
kitte ramdas kitte phate Muhammad eho kadimi shor
mitt gia doha da jhagra nikai pia kujh hor
meri bukkal de vicc cor
arsh manuro milia бага, sunia takht Lahaur*

shah inayat ghundhia paia, lakk chip khicda dor
*Meri bikkal de vicc cor*⁹⁸

Within the folds of my veil was the thief, O friend, within the folds of my veil was the thief; to whom shouting at the top of my voice should I tell that within the folds of my veil was the thief? Stealthily, stealthily, he has gone out, and (this) has caused surprise in the world. The Mussulmans fear the crematorium, and the Hindus fear the tomb, both die in this(fear) which is the trouble of both; somewhere it is Ramdas, somewhere it is Fateh Muhammad; this is the eternal struggle. The difference of both has ceased, as something different has turned up. From the high heavens the prayer-calls were made and they were heard at the throne⁹⁹ of Lahore; Shah Inayat tried the knots and now He (God), hidden behind, pull, the strings.

Here Bullhe Shah stands for the, unity for human welfare, of the followers of different religions and sects. He bases his argument on the fact that he sees God installed in the heart of each individual, no matter to what religion he belongs. The expression of the sentiment is simple, impressive, and beautiful.

Hindu na nahi musalman, behie trinjan taj abhaman
Sunni na nahi ham shia, sulh kul ka marag lia
Bhukkhe na nahi ham rajje, nange na mahi ham kajje
Rode na nahi ham hassde, ujare na nahi ham vassde
Papi na sudharmi na, pap pun ki rah na ja
*Bullha shahu har citlage hindu turk do jan tiage.*¹⁰⁰

Neither Hindu nor Mussulman let us sit to spin, abandoning pride (of religion). Neither a sunni nor a shi'a, I have taken the path of complete peace and unity. Neither am I hungry (poor) nor satisfied (rich), nor naked I nor covered. Neither am I weeping nor Laughing, nor deserted nor settled. Neither a sinner, I, nor a pure one, I am not walking in the way of either sin or virtue. Bullha, in all hearts I feel the Lord, (therefore) Hindu and Mussulmans both have I abandoned.

Bullhe Shah was an impartial critic of bigotry and those setrules and regulations of a church which forbid free expression of the divine

love. Not finding any difference between the spiritual codes of Islam and Hinduism he allotted them both a place inferior to that which he assigned to the divine love. In the following *kafi* he gives a dialogue between the clerical code and love, in which love comes out victorious:

*Ishk shara da jhagara paigia dil da bharm matava mai
saval shara de javab ishk de hazrat akh sunava mai
shara kahe cal pas mulla de sikkh lai adab adaba nu
ishk kahe ikke harf batera thapp rakkh hor kataba nu
shara kahe kar panj asnana, alag mandir ki puja re
ishk kahe teri puja jhuthi je ban baitho duja re*

*shara kahe kujh sharm haya kar band kar is camkare nu
ishk kahe eh ghungat kaisa khullan de nazare nu
shara kahe cal masjid andar hak namaz ada kar lai
ishk kahe cal maikhane vicc pike sharab naphal parh lai
shara kahe cal bihishti caliye, bihishta de meve khava ge
ishk kahe otthe paihra sada ap hatthi vartavage
shara kahe cal hajj kar moman pulsarat langana re
ishk kahe bua yard a kabba uttho mul na halna re
shara kahe shah Mansur nu suli utte caria si
ishk da darza arsh mualla sirtaz laulaki re
ishk vicco paida kitta bullha ajiz khaki re .¹⁰¹*

Love and Law¹⁰² are struggling (in the human heart); the doubt of the heart will I settle (by relating) the questions of Law, and the answers of Love I will describe, holy Sir; Law says: Go to the *mulla*¹⁰³ and learn the rules and regulations. Love says (answers): One letter is enough, shut up and put away other books. Law says: Perform the five baths¹⁰⁴ and worship alone in the temple. Love says: Your worship is false if you consider yourself separate¹⁰⁵ Law says: Have shame and hide the illumination (enlightenment). Love says: What is this veil for? Let the vision be open. Law says: Go inside the mosque and perform the duty of prayer. Love says: Go -to the wine-house and drinking wino read the naphal.¹⁰⁶ Law says: Let us go to heaven; we will eat the fruits of heaven. Love says: There we are custodians or rulers and we ourselves will distribute the fruits of heaven. Law says: O faithful one, come perform the *hajj*, you have to cross the

bridge.¹⁰⁷ Love says: The door of the Beloved is *ka'aba*; from there I will not stir. Law says: On the cross¹⁰⁸ we placed Shah Mansur. Love says: You did well, you made him enter the door of the Beloved. The rank of Love is the highest heaven, the crown of creation.¹⁰⁹ Out of Love He has created Bullha, humble, and from dust.

The following were the true feelings of Bullhe Shah which he was not supposed to express. But being unable to hide them any longer he pours them out with that vehemence and force which ardent but genuine suppressed thought generally possesses. Besides, the beauty of this poem lies in the fact that though Bullha uses the very words and expression which an enraged Panjabi would use, he carefully avoids all that could in the least make it vulgar or violent. How many poets could express great Philosophic truth *with* such force and so briefly and sweetly as Bullha did ?

*Muh ai bat na rahindi hai
 Jhuth akha te kujh baccda hai, sacc akkhia bhambar macda hai
 Dil doha galla to jaccda hai, jacc jacc ke jehba kahindi hai
 Muh ai bat na rahindi hai
 Ikk lazam bat adab di hai, sanu bat malumi sabh di hai
 Har har vicc surat rabb di hai, kahu zahar kahu chappe di hai
 Muh ai bat na rahindi hai
 Jis paia bhet kalandarda, rah khojia apane andarda
 Sukkhvasi hai is mandar da, jitthe carhdi hai na lahindi hai
 Muh ai bat na rahindi hai
 Etthe bunia vicc hanera hai ate tillkan bazi vehra hai
 Andar varke dekho kehra hai, bahar bhalkat pai dhundedi hai
 Muh ai bat na rahindi hai
 Etthe lekkha pau pasara hai isda vakkhara bhet iara hai
 Ikk surat da camara hai jiu cinag daru vicc paidi hai
 Muh ai bat na rahindi hai/
 Kite nazo ada dikhlai da, kite ho rasul milai da
 Kite ashak ban ban aid a, ikte jan judai sahindi hai
 Muh ai bat na rahindi hai
 Jado zahar hoe nur hori, jal gae pahar koh tur hori
 Tado dar carhe Mansur hori, utthe shekhi na maidi taidi hai
 Muh ai bat na rahindi hai
 Je zahar kara asrar tai sabh bhul javan takrar tai
 Phir maran bullhe yar tai, at the mukhfi gall sohindi hai*

Muh ai bat na rahindi hai
Asa parhia ilm tahkiki hai, ulthe ikko haraf hakiki hai
Hor jhagara sabh vadhidi hai aive roula pa pa bahindi hai
Muh ai bat na rahindi hai
Bullha snahu asatho vakkh nahi, bin shahu thi duja kakkh nahi
Par vekkhan vali akkh nahi, tahi jan pai dukkh sahindi hai
Muh ai bat na rahindi hai. ¹¹⁰

The speech that has come into the mouth cannot be withheld. if state an untruth something remains, by telling the truth the fire spreads;¹¹¹ of both (truth and untruth) the heart is disgusted¹¹² and in disgust the tongue speaks. The speech, etc. One necessary thing concerns religion, but to me all things are known; everything is the image of God, somewhere It is visible somewhere hidden. The speech etc. He who has discovered the secret of the saint (*pir or guru*), (he) has found the path of his inner self and is the happy resident of this temple (self-realization) where there is no rise or setting. The speech, etc. Here on earth is darkness, and the courtyard (path) is slippery; look within, who is there? Outside, the crowd is searching (for God). The speech, etc. Here the account (*karma*) has spread its feet, the secret of it is different and unique. Of one image (God) there is the light as a spark falls into wine. The speech, etc. Somewhere He (God) shows coquetry, somewhere He brings Muhammad, somewhere as a lover He comes, somewhere His soul suffers separation. The speech, etc. When light (God) became visible, the mountain of Sinai was aflame, again on the cross mounted Mansur, there exists no boasting of mine or yours. The speech, etc. If I proclaim the secrets, all quarrels (of religions) will be forgotten (cease); then they (the clergy) will kill the friend Bullha; here on earth hidden speech (ambiguous) is charming. The speech, etc. I have studied the science of search (divine) and therein only one word is genuine. All other arguing is additional (and unnecessary) and useless noise is made. The speech, etc. Bullha the Lord is not separate from us, apart from the Lord nothing else exists; but there is no seeing eye, hence the soul is suffering pain. The speech, etc.

Sources of Information

Panjab University MS. No. 374, Folios 2—14, 743. In Gurmukhi characters. This MS. contains a few sayings of Bullhe Shah. The

compiler in an appended verse says that he was called Puran Das and compiled the book in 1861, Samvatt 1884. This is the oldest MS. of Bullha's sayings found up to date.

Panjab University MS. No. 4684 also contains some *kafis* of the saint-poet. They are written in a very bad hand: It seems that the pious desire to put in writing all the poet's religious verse led the copyist to insert some of Bullhe Shah's compositions with which he was not well acquainted. He collected stanzas from different poems to complete the one he had begun. It does not seem to be a very old MS.; at the utmost it is eighty Years old. It is in Gurmukhi characters.

Kafia Bullhe Shah, MS. found in the library of Dr Hifz-ur-Rahman of Lahore. This is a collection of some poems of Bullhe Shah written in a good hand in Urdu characters.

Four pages from a lost MS., the personal Property of the writer. The poems are correct but the handwriting is not very good. In Urdu characters.

Now we come to the printed sources for the life, teachings and sayings' of Bullhe Shah. Since Bullhe Shah is enthroned in the hearts of all Panjabs, Hindus or Muslims, books and pamphlets have been published in Urdu, Gurmukhi and Hindi. Some of these have gone through many editions. We mention here only those which are well known concerning the accounts of the life of the poet we can suggest the following:

Khazinat-ul-Asfia by Mufti Ghulam Sarvar of Lahore, in Persian prose. It gives a brief account of the life of Bullhe Shah. ¹¹³

Tahqiqat-Cishti, by Nur Ahmad Chishti, also gives an account of Bullha's life.

Bagh-i-Awliya-e-Hind by Muhammad Din, in Urdu characters but in Panjabi verse. The author gives short sketches of the lives of Bullhe shah and his master shah Inayat.

A pamphlet on the life of Bullhe shah was written by Mr C. F. Osborne of the I.C.S. The original is no traceable but an Urdu translation by Zia-ud-Din Ahmad, printed at Delhi in A.H. 1338 (A.D. 1919) is available. It gives some interesting information on the life of the saintly poet, collected from various sources.

The following are the names of a few printed books on his poetry. They are mostly collections of his compositions, but some of them have good introductions giving important information on various episodes of his life and some notes on his verse:

Kanun-i- 'Ishq ¹¹⁴ by Answer 'Ali Shah of Rohtak. The work of Mr Ali Shah is admirable so far as general information and selection of verse are concerned. The author fails miserably when he tries to prove that Bullhe Shah was a strict mosque-going Muslim. ¹¹⁵

Sai Bullhe Shah ¹¹⁶ by Sundar Singh Nirula, in Gurmukhi. This is a collection of 116 *kafls*, a *baramah and athavara* of Bullhe Shah. It contains a short sketch of the life and teachings of the poet. The Panjabi meanings of those few Persian and Arabic word which sometimes occur in Bulla's verse have been given in footnotes. This is a very fine and authentic collection.

Hans Cog ¹¹⁷ by Baba Buddh Singh. This book on Panjabi literature contains a chapter on the poetry of Bullhe Shah. It is in Gurmukhi characters.

Bullhe Shah ¹¹⁸ edited by Dr Mohan Singh, in Gurmukhi. This book contains only fifty poems of Bullhe Shah. Though very well brought out, it is full of information which has practically no concern with the subject. The explanations and annotations on the original poems are far from satisfactory, as everywhere the editor, desirous of showing the, superiority of his own faith, has inserted compositions of the Sikh Gurus.

Kafia Hazrat Bullhe Shah Sahib kasuri ¹¹⁹ edited by Bahi Prem Singh of kasur. It is a very good collection, in Urdu characters. The compositions in it are said to have been collected from various MSS. and other sources.

Besides these there are many small collections in pamphlet form. They contain mostly those poems which are included in the above mentioned books, and therefore need not be named here.

Apart from MSS. and printed works there is another source of information. That is the oral tradition pre-served by the *kavvalis*, and minstrels. Some of these, attached to the tomb of Bullhe Shah and that

of his master Inayat Shah, have been of great help to me. Of course one should bear in mind that the information they furnish is mostly in the form of legends and stories. Between them they relate the authentic incidents and sing the original verse. This source is rich and helps in establishing the facts concerning the life and work of the poet.

1. The Panjabi, though he has his superstitions and dogmas, is ever ready to shake them off, if he is convinced of their futility. This desire often puts him to inconvenience but he does not mind it. It is on account of this phase of the Panjabi character that reforming sects have always gained ground in the Panjab.
2. See C.F. Usborne, Sai Bullhe Shah, p. 5, and Bullhe Shah, p. 4.
3. Aurangzeb ascended the Mughal throne in May, 1659.
4. Bullhe Shah, p. 4.
5. See p. 4 of his pamphlet.
6. InyatShah was an Arai or gardener. He remained in his profession even after he had become a famous teacher and saint.
7. The kavvalis sing it, but it is found in almost all the printed books mentioned below.
8. Sai bullhe Shah and Bullhe Shah (Panjab University) both give this tradition: see pp. 8 and 13 respectively.
9. Some kavvalis relate that the magic word was bismillah. The author of Bagh-i-Awliya-e-Hind agrees with them, see p. 38.
10. A long piece of cloth wound round the shoulders by Panjabi men.
11. This tradition is as popular as the other. It was related to us at Lahore by some kavvalis. The author of Bagh-i-Awliya-e-Hind (p. 38) mentions it in a slightly different manner.
12. Sai Bullhe Shah, p. 23, kafi 6.
13. *ibid.*, p. 7.
14. Shah Inayat, it is said, always preached in Panjabi and used to quote some Panjabi verse of his own composition. But as Punjabi was considered the language of the vulgar and the uncultured these compositions were not preserved.
15. We are indebted to Khan Sahib Shaikh Siraj-ud-din retired Assistant Postmaster General, the present gaddi-nishin of Shah Inayat, for the written information he furnished on the life and work of his ancestor. For convenience we will refer to this information as Sira. Inform., i.e. Siraj-ud-din Information.
16. Vol. II, p. 15
17. Vol. II, p. 15.
18. Sira, Inform., pp. 3 and 4.
19. We have no motive to doubt the statement of the Shaikh sahib. If we do not accept it, it is because all scientific and historical evidence is against it.
20. The Shaikh showed to us a Persian MS. From which he had copied the genealogical tree. This MS., from its appearance and paper, seemed to be of very recent origin.
21. This endorsement was, according to the Panjabi Sufi customs, the permit issued by Inayat Shah to his grown up son to study the book. It shows that he was already a man of advanced age because only an advanced Sufi had the right to give such permission.

22. The author of *Baghi-Awliya-e-Hind* (p. 36), however, puts it in A.H. 1141.
23. The Shattari is a sub-sect of the Qadiri sect of Sufiism.
24. Sira. Inform p.5.
25. P. 36.
26. Sira. Inform p.8.
27. *ibid.*
28. See British Museum Catalogue Rieu, I, 54, and II, 828; also Journal Asiatique, 1915, p. 268.
29. This MS. is in the possession of the present *gaddi-nishin*.
30. These methods are those various *yogic* practices, used by the *yogis* of old, to control the senses and to concentrate on the Divine Lord.
31. *Dastur-ul-Amal*, p. 114.
32. These MSS. have never been studied or spoken of by scholar as yet. They are mostly in Persian but abound in Arabic words.
33. Spiritually, Shah Inayat was a descendant of Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior; Sira. Inform., p. 3.
34. How the fire broke out or who set the house on fire is not known. The descendants sometimes say it was the Sikhs, at other times that it was some unknown person. Nobody is sure of the truth of the statement.
35. In India the term *al* is confined to descendants through a daughter. Descendants through a son are called *aulad*.
36. The Arains are also called Rains. See Rose, Glossary, Vol. II, p. 13.
37. This answer and the reproach were kindly given to me by Mr. N. A. Waqar, and were also recited by a few *kavvalis*.
38. See Sai Bullhe Shah, p. 106, kafi 82.
39. The same sister, Mr. C. F. Osborne says, remained a spinster to keep company with her bachelor brother. See trans., p. 5.
40. *Kanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. II, p. 211.
41. *Tariqat* here means the established path, i.e. Islam, and *Haqiqat* represents the truth of Sufiism.
42. Like Mansur-al-Hallaj and Shams Tabriz, etc.
43. In those days, to speak in that strain was the greatest heresy. Aurangzeb was very keen on punishing the Sufis whom he considered heretics and also friends of his late brother Dara Shikoh. He put to death Sarmad (Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, pp. 113-14) and saw that Mulla Shah, who was very old, died in misery in Lahore; see von Kremer's article in J.A., 1869, pp. 151-3. The Qadiris particularly dreaded him as Dara was an initiated Qadiri (Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb. Vol. I, P. 298).
44. Sai Bullhe Shah, kafi 48.
45. *ibid.* kafi 48.
46. *ibid.* p. 11, and on the authority of *kavvalis*.
47. *Kanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. I .p.100, kafi 17.
48. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 64, kafi 1
49. *kanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. I, p. 64.
50. *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 64.
51. Sangit Sagar, p. 289.
52. Kafi 49.
53. *Vehra* also stands for street, but generally it is a courtyard.
54. *Cak*; one who looks after the buffaloes only, but here we have translated it as cowherd, which is more comprehensible in English.
55. *Lar lagana* means to accept or follow the person. In a Hindu nuptial ceremony the end of the garment of the bridegroom and the veil of the bride are tied together in a knot,

which means that they accept each other and shall walk together, hence this expression, *lar lagana*.

56 Inayat here stands both for quru (Inayat Shah) and God's compassion.

57 *kanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. v, p. 99, kafi 16.

58 This is the *Siratu'I Mustaqim* of the Qur'an.

59 Qasid in Panjabi Sufi language is both a messenger and postmen. It is employed in the same sense as *udho* in the Vaisnava language.

60 *kanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. I, p. 125, kafi 37.

61 By *ved* he does not mean the Vedas but a book of knowledge. In ledge. For example, a book on astrology will be called *ved-pothi* because it gives knowledge with regard to one's future, and that is exactly what Bullhe Shah means.

62 *Kanun-i-Isha*, kafi 57.

63 Literally, so great a spread

64 *Kanun-i-Ishq*, kafi 85.

65 An allusion to the story of Rajha and Hir. Cucak, the Sial chief, enraged at the attachment of his daughter hir to his cowherd Rrjha, sparated them by keeping Hir in close custody and later on by giving in marriage to a man of his own choice .

66 *Kanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. II, p.160, kafi 59.

67 *ap* has no gender, so we have rendered it by 'It' which stands for *allah, the brahm* who is beyond sex.

68 Tegh Bahadur means 'brave of the sword', but here it stands for the ninth guru, of the Sikhs who was tried by the *qazis* at the order of Aurangzeb and executed at Delhi in the year 1676.

69-

70 somewhere in the cult of the mosque isIt' represented and somewhere inthat of the temple.

71 A prayer carpet.

72 House here signifies way, path, place.

73 Both Al-Hallaj and Bistami could not break with the established beliefs. Hallaj went to Mekka on pilgrimage many times (see Massignon, *La Passion*, Vol. 1, pp. 3, 4, 5). When they became free and realized the truth. it was towards the end of their lives.

74 Mulla Shah was a disciple of Mia Mir of Lahore. He attained greet fame in Kashmir and was waited upon by prince, and poor alike. He was the spiritual preceptor of Dara Shikoh. On his accession to the Mughal throne, Aurangzeb ordered Mulla Shah, who then was old and infirm, to appear before him at Delhi, but later, on the intercession of his sister Fatima, changed his orders. He was, however, compelled to come down to Lahore, where he died in misery. See Claud Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, p. 180.

75 for accounts of Sarmad see *Indian Antiquary*, 1910, pp. 89-90 and 121-2.

76 Claud Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, p. 180. He reported thoe who dispensed with the prescribed fast and prayers, etc.

77 Sarkar, *History of Aurangzab*, Vol. I. p.113

78 *ibid.*, p. 110.

79 *ibid.*

80 *Kanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. II, p. 239, kafi 90.

81 Ceylon.

82 *Kanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. II, p. 162, kafi 59.

83 *ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 266-7, kafi 114.

84 This is a question which the lover or the Seeker who has become one with the Lord puts to himself.

85 See ch. ii, p. 25.

86 *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, pp. 157-8: 'Elle (doctrine panthoiste) conduit a l'atheisme et

- au materialism; en effet qu'y avait-il de plus naturel que de passer de ce pantheisme politique a l'epicurisme le plus cynique ?'
- 87 Mr kremer says that only a small number of men including Mulla Shah and the prince Dara could manage to keep their characters spotless. *ibid.* p. 159.
- 88 *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, p. 159.
- 89 Even *Al-Hallaj*, whom Bullha often mentions In his poetry forhaving told the truth. spent a good deal of his life, in preaching Islam and persuading people to come to the path indicated by Muhammad. See *La Passion*, p. 4. It might be that when he had attained the state of *ana'l-Haqq* he no longer believed in conversion. but we cannot say anything definitely since he was hanged soon after the event. 90 Almost all Sufi took part in conversion-work, even the avowed opponents of Sufiism. Mr Zahuru'd-Din Ahmad, in his *Mystic Tendencies of Islam*, admits this (p. 142).
- 90 Almost all Sufi took part in conversion-work, even the avowed opponents of Sufiism. Mr Zahuru'd-Din Ahmad, in his *Mystic Tendencies of Islam*, admits this (p. 142).
- 91 He himself refers to the bigoted attitude of his relatives.
- 92 Hadland Davis, *Jalalu'ddin Rumi*, P. 23.
- 93 In Vaisnava poetry, God is Krishna the cowherd and the seeker, Radha, is a milkmaid.
- 94 Bahu's poetry is also devoid of human love, but so very little of his verse is found that it is hard to come to any definite conclusions.
- 95 *kanun-i-'Ishq*, Vol. II, p. 262, kafi 109.
- 96 Dhido is a cowherd who looks after buffaloes. That was the name of Rajha when he became a cowherd of the Sial chief.
- 97 Cattle in those days were the wealth of the tribal chiefs. When he drove the cattle to the fields, the cowherd Rajha walked behind them with a staff in his hand, and a rough blanket over his shoulders.
- 98 *Kanun-i-'Ishq*, Vol. II, kafi 64.
- 99 Seat of Inayat Shah at Lahore.
- 100 *Kanun-i-'Ishq*, Vol. II, kafi 73.
- 101 This *kafi* was kindly given to me by the late Mirasi Maula Bakhsh of Labor.
- 102 *Shari'at*. In *Panjabi* it is called *shara* or *shariyat*.
- 103 A Muhammi.dan priest, but here it stands for priests of any church.
- 104 Baths at five sanctuaries, an act considered to be holy by the Hindus.
- 105 Not one with the universal self.
- 106 Supererogatory prayers.
- 107 *Siratu'l-mustaqim*. Literally, stake.
- 109 *Laulaka lama khalaqtu'laftaka* (*Hadis-i-qudsi*).
- 110 Dissensions arise. It is a Panjabi expression.
- 111 of truth for hiding it and of untruth because it is not reality .
- 112 Hope Press, Lahore. Printed in A.H. 1284.
- 113 Printed at Alam Press, Lahore, and published by Chanan Din Allah vale ki kaumi Dukan, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. It is in Urdu.
- 114 For the sake of convenience we have referred to this collection for the quotations given above.
- 115 Published by Bhais Paratab Singh Sunder Singh, Mai Seva, Amritsar, 1931-2.
- 116 Published by Phullvari Agency, Hall Bazar, Amritsar, 3rd edition, 1926.
- 117 Published by the Panjab University in 1930.
- 118 Sewak Machine Press, Lahore.

ALI HAIDAR

(A.D. 1690-1785)

‘Ali HAIDAR, the Sufi poet, was born at Kazia in the Multan district, in the year A.H. 1101 (A.D. 1690).¹ He passed, says the tradition, the greater part of his life in the village of his birth, where he died in A.D. 1199 or the year 1785 of the Christian era, at the advanced age of ninety-five years.²

A few years ago, Haidar was practically unknown to the general public as a poet. Wandering *faqirs* sometimes sang fragments of his mystical verse in the streets, but no attention was paid to it, as people are not accustomed to pay heed to what the *faqirs* sing or recite. In 1898, Malik Fazal Din of Lahore was so greatly impressed on hearing a poem of ‘Ali Haidar that he decided to collect all the poetry that ‘Ali Haidar had written and publish it for the benefit of the public. He acted on his decision, and with much labour succeeded in collecting most of the poems from the *kavvalis*, and also from a descendant of the poet named Hazrat Faqir Ghulam Mira of Kazia who furnished him with a copy of the original manuscript.³ This collection the Malik named *Mukammal Majmu’a Abyat ‘Ali Haidar*, and published it soon after it was ready.⁴

The descendants of ‘Ali Haidar could not furnish much information on the life and Literary career of the poet. Perhaps they themselves did not know more about their illustrious ancestor.⁵ In the absence of his life history, we should have turned to his poetry for information, but unfortunately that too has proved of little help. Incidentally ‘Ali Haidar says that he was not a *saiyid*, which his descendants proclaim him to be, and also gives the name of his *pir murshid*. Haidar states:

*Mim mai kutta ban al rasul najib da pahru ha ghar bar utte
uppar aggo oh andheri mai hondia ais darbar utte*

*nam tarik da bhi khadim sahiba di pucckar utte
par aihle ulum di izarat rakhan vazib hai sansar utte. ⁶*

Mim: I am a dog of the *al* of the exalted Prophet and keep watch on their house; I pass as a storm ⁷ over and above this court. ⁸I am a slave even of their name and also of the kindness of these gentleman (i.e. *saiyids*), but it is right to maintain the honor of the learned in the world.

Had 'Ali Haidar been a *saiyid* he would not have called himself a dog of the *saiyids* door, but would have claimed a place of equal honor. The above, therefore, removes all doubt and establishes the fact that Haidar was an Indian and not one of the foreign *saiyids*.

From the above quotation we can also conclude that he was troubled by the *saiyids* for his attentions to the learned. Who could these learned people be except some liberal mystics of whom the *saiyids* often disapproved? Haidar seems to have been afraid of the *saiyids*, and that is why he lowered himself before them; but at the same time he maintained in an apologetic manner his own conviction that to respect the learned befitted a man.

Our poet was a confessed Sufi and a faithful follower of Shah Mohiy-ud-din, as:

*Qaf kya gam khauf asa nu je shah muhaiuddin asadara ai
Shah abdul qadir jila da je lutf amin asadara ai. ⁹*

Qaf: what sorrow and fear have we, ¹⁰ if Shah Muhly-ud.dinis ours and if Shah Abdul Qadir of Jilan is guardian of our pleasure?

And again:

Ali Haidar kya parvah kise di je Shah Muhaiuddin asadara ai ¹¹

'Ali Haidar, what do we care for any other if Shah Muhiy-ud-din is ours?

Muhyi-du-din or Abdul Qadir Jilani, who, as we know, was born in Jilan in the year A.H. 471 (A.D. 1078)¹² was famous for his learning. He was the founder of the Qadiri order of Sufi¹³ and has always had innumerable followers all over the Panjab. Haidar, as is clear from the above, was a Qidiri, but who his *pir* was we do not know.

The style of Ali Haidar is very ornamental. No mystic Panjabi poet, with the exception of Bullhe Shah and Hashim, has surpassed Haidar in poetic flow and fecundity of vocabulary. His verse, being ornate, abounds in *alankaras*, notably in *vrityanuprasa*,¹⁴ as:

*Shin sharab de mast raihan, ki main taide matt valare ni,
Surkh safaid siyah do banalare baj kajjal aive kalare ni.*¹⁵

Here *shin*, *sharab*, *safaid*, and *ni* at the end of each line form a graceful *vrityanuprasa*.

Haidar has shown his command of *samak*¹⁶ in his *Qissa Hir va Rajha*. Each short poem is full of foreign phrases and words, but they are so well welded into his poetry that they do not give the reader the impression of being foreign. Here is an example:

*Jan baca ke bajho cake, rakhi kyu kar hoi ma
Ya rag masiva al mahbub reha gair na koi ma
Dil vicc akhhe vekkh tamasha hai je utthe dhoi ma
Man ho maqnatis haidar, use di khicc rakhioi ma.*¹⁷

In the above poem *ya rag masiva al mahbub* and *man homaqnatis*, two Arabic sayings,¹⁸ are put in as if they were in Panjabi.

Speaking of the style of Haidar, a living poet¹⁹ in both Urdu and Panjabi once said: 'His style resembles that of Habib Qaani so far as the arrangement of words and beauty of language is concerned, but for his descriptions and expressions he resembles Hafiz.'²⁰

Ali Haidar's style no doubt charms his reader by its grace and beauty. He also excelled in subtle poetic conceit. We give below a specimen in which, desirous of showing the superiority of his own religion over the faith of the Hindus, he very tactfully makes Hir speak for himself.

*Alif eh baman*²¹ *bhaire bhatth paye kura rah bataunde ne
So phitte muh ohna kafara da sabh kuro kur kamaudi ne*

*Cucak de ghar kheria de aih nitt vicare aude ne
 Netarsunetarnetar' sunni de gin gin Gandhi pande ne
 Mai gun mare ohna de sir mala turt puande ne
 Nal dumbal channi la phuare mapyo calande ne
 Kih sharm haya ohna kafara nu jo khair duare mannande ne
 Narak dib hah maidi nahi ahi eh apane hatthi laude ne
 Akkhi dekh tijjan nahi eh kafar aini haude ne
 Je murde nu dukkh sukkh nahi kyu haddia ganga paude ne
 Eh janju gal ne janj kheria di mai haidar mul na bhaude ne.*²²

Alif: these bad Brahmans are in the oven (i.e. fire) for they tell the false path (i.e. Hinduism), therefore shame on those heathens²³ who all follow the false. Into the house of *cucak* and the *kheras*²³ these wretches (Brahmans) always come. Saying *netarsunetarnetar*²⁴ and calculating, they tie the knot.²⁵ When I marred their qualities (i.e. when I refused to obey them by loving Rajha) then they ordered the garland (i.e. of marriage with Saida.) to be put on my head. Putting a cup to the abscess, the parents start the stream²⁶ (i.e. obeying the order of the Brahmans parents bleed my heart by giving my me in marriage to Saida). What modesty and shame have these heathens, who in the temple beg for safety ? This is not the fire of my hell (Muhammadan hell), they have lit it themselves.²⁷ Seeing this (fire) they are not convinced but keep on boasting (i.e. they still praise their religion). If a corpse experiences no pain or pleasure then why do they put the bones into the Ganges? This sacred thread round the neck in like the marriage procession of the *kheras*; Haidar, I do not like it at all.

Haidar paints well his disgust of the worldly possessions which we have to leave after death. He calls them false and states that the only true possession is God with his prophet and his friends.

*Kura ghora kura jora kuru shau asvar
 Kure bashe kure shikare kure mir shikar
 Kure hathi kure lashkar kure fauj katar
 Kure suhe kure salu, kure shone yar
 Kure jore kure bere kure har shangar
 Kure kotthe kure manmit kur eh sansar
 Haidar akkhe sabh kujh kura sacca hikk kartar
 Duja nabi Muhammad sacca sacce us de yar*²⁸

False is the horse, false is the costume and false is the king rider; false are the hawks,²⁹ false the falcon and false is the leader of the hunt; false the elephant., false the battalions and false are the armies with swords; false the red,³⁰ and false the *salus*³¹ and false the beautiful friends ;³² false these uniforms, false the boats and false are the toilets; false the houses, false the pleasures and false is this world. Haidar says all is false, *kartar*'³³ alone is true; the second true one is the Prophet Muhammad, and true are his friends.

Hidar's faith in God is well described in this:

Alif etthe otthe otthe asa as taidi ate asara taidare zor dai Mahi sabh havalre taidare ne asa khauf na khandare cor dai Tui jan saval javab sabho sanu haul na aukhari gor dai Ali haidar nu sikk taidari ai taidai bajh na sayal hor dai.³⁴

Aisf: both here and there you are my hope and your power is my support; all buffaloes³⁵ are in your charge, so I am not afraid of any wretched thief;³⁶ you know all prayers and their answers (so) I have no fear of the difficult grave; 'Ali Haidar feels your want, save you he does not seek another.

It will be interesting to give here one of the few poems in which Haidar reproaches his countrymen, the king and the foreign element, then so prominent at the Imperial Court of Delhi, for having allowed the Persians to come into the country and for submitting to their lust for riches :³⁶

*Be bhi zaihar nahi jo kha maran kujh sharam na hinustania nu
Kya haya ehna rajia nu kujh lajj nahi turania nu
Bhaire bhar bhar devan khajane farsia khurasania nu
Vicc chaunia de vicc pani takk badhoje lahu na vedea pania nu.*³⁷

Be: there is no poison which they (Indians) should eat and (consequently) die, the Indians have no shame; what shame have these kings, what shame have these Turanis?³⁸ The wretches fill up and give treasuries to the Persians and the

Khurasanis;³⁹ in the cantonments they (i.e. the Persian) have reserved water for themselves, the only water we (Indians) see is blood.

It is evident from this and other such poems that to Haidar his country's distress was unbearable, and he cursed freely the rulers and those in power.

Haidar alone of the Panjabi Sufi poets played with words. It is on account of this that his thought is weak and often the same idea is differently described. Physical love was his ideal for spiritual love, and he therefore laid great stress on the use of words which naturally imparted a sort of brilliancy to his language. Here is a specimen to illustrate his mastery over words:

*Shin shaker ranji yar di mainu talkh kita sabh shir shaker
Ganj shaker di shaker vanda je kare rabb shir shaker
Rajha khir te hir shaker rabb pher kare jhabb shir shaker
Jo labbiai lab lab to hazir piyo payala shir shaker
Haidar gussa pive ta akkhe piau mittha lab shir shaker.*⁴⁰

Shin:the anger of my friend is bitter to me; it has made our friendship bitter.⁴¹ I will distribute the sugar of Ganj Shakar⁴² provided God arranges peace; Rajha is rice and Hir is sugar. May God soon bring about their union; what we search is present on each lip (i.e. the name of God), drink that cup of friendship; Haidar, if he controls his anger, will say. Drink friendship with the sweet sugar of lips.

Haidar, we believe, was a very good musician. Each line of his verse is full of rhythm and is so beautifully composed that his reader is tempted to sing rather than read or recite it. One specimen will suffice:

*Te tariya lariya taidia ni, mainu lariya kariya mariya ni
Hir jahia sai golia gholia ni, sadake kittia taitho varia ni
Caupar mar taron na pase, pase ditia haddia saria ni
Haidar kaun khalaria taitho, asi jitia bajia haria ni.*⁴³

At the end of each poem of his *siharfis*, Haidar wrote a sort of *rahau* to indicate the musical refrain. Here is this chorus:

*Anban inbin unbun thi, ikk samajh asadariramaz mia.*⁴⁴

Haidar used Multani, which is a sweet dialect of Panjabi, and became more so when the poet played with it. The few poems which have come down to us from the *Hir*, of Haidar show that he was an Arabic scholar and a competent *Haafi*. Had it been complete it would be a document to prove how the Sufi understood the *Qur'an* and the *hadis*. Their interpretations are different, as Haidar's *Hir* differs from those of other Mussulmans. Still what is left of the *Hir* is very interesting and pleasing. Before we close this account we will let Haidar speak briefly for himself.

*khe khalak khuda di ilam parhdi sanu ikka mutalia yard a ai
Jihne khol ke ishk kitab ditthi sige saraf de sabh visar da ai
Jinhe yar de nam da sabak parhya etthe jae na sabar karar da ai
Haidar mulla nu fikar namaz da ai ehna ashka talab didar da ai.*⁴⁵

khe: the creatures of God study knowledge, but we have only the Study of the Beloved; he who has opened and looked in the book of love is ready to spend all; he who has read the lesson of the beloved's name should not come here, is only peace and contentment; Haidar, the priest has to think of prayers, but these lovers desire only the manifestation (of the Beloved)

*Be, be di teg na dass mulla oh alif sidha kham ghat aya
Oha yar kalokari rat vala hun bhes vata ke vat aya
Sohna mim di cadar paihn ke ji keha julfa de ghungat ghat aya
Ali haidar oha yar paiyara hun ahmad ban ke vat aya.*⁴⁶

Be: O priest do not show me the curved sword of *be*⁴⁷ because this is the straight *alif*⁴⁸ that has come back bent; the friend of last night changing his garb has come again; the handsome friend wearing the shawl of *mim*⁴⁹ and veiled in his locks has returned; 'Ali Haidar, that friend beloved now has come again as Ahmad⁵⁰

*Lam lok nasihata de thakke shone yar to mukkh na morsa mai
Tore maure peure kadd chorani jani yar piche ghar chorsa mai
mai ta bele vassa hardam mahi vale matti dedea ni khuhe borsa mai
Ali haidar ne akkhia laiya kite kaul nu mui na torsa mai.*⁵¹

Lam: the people are tired giving me good counsels, but I will not turn my face from the handsome friend; if mother and father turn me out,

for my beloved I will leave the house;
I will ever live in the *jangal* of my beloved,⁵² and will throw into a
well those who give me good advice.’⁵³ Ali Haider, our eyes have
met⁵⁴ and I will never break my word.

1 See *Majmu'a Abyat 'Ali Haider, Introduction, p. 3.*

2 *ibid.*

3 See *majmu'a Abyat 'Ali Haider, Introduction, p. 2.*

4 It can be procured from Allah Vale kaumi dukan, Kashmiri
Bazar, Lahore. For the sake of convenience we will refer to this collec-
tion as *M.M. 'Ali Haider.*

5 The descendants and kavvalis give more legends, than valuable information. The
legends are not original, but are distorted versions of
those relating to great mystics.

6 *M.M. 'Ali Haider, p. 23.*

7 Allusion, to a Panjabi superstition according to which a dust storm
sweeps away all evil influence and evil spirits from that part of the country our which it
passes.

8 The Muhammadans respectfully refer to the residence of the
saiyids as darbar or court.

9 *M.M. 'Ali Haider, p. 23.*

10 'We' is here employed in place of the first person singular.

11 *M.M. 'Ali Haider, p. 23.*

12 Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 5.*

13 *Rose, Glossary, Vol. I, p. 538.*

14 We have named this figure of speech according to the Sanskrit

System because panjabi poetry is entirely Indian as regards grammar, verse technique,
etc.

15 *M.M. 'Ali Haider, p. 2.*

16 Samak is a figure of speech. If in a poem in a certain language words and phrases of
other languages are inserted by the poet and these insertions do not look odd or strange
then it is called samak. See *Alankar Manjusa, pp. 22-3.*

17 *M.M. Ali Haider, p. 78.*

18 These sayings are inserted in their corrupted form.

137 Maulana Waqar (N.A.) Ambalvi, who is known as one of the best living poets of
Urdu. He sometimes writes in Panjabi also and, being a Panjabi and a scholar of Persian,
his judgements command our respect.

19 Baba Buddh Singh also compares Haider with Hafiz of Shiraz, *see Hans Cog, P. 181.*

20 In Panjabi Brahmins are called Bamans.

21 *M.M. 'Ali Haider, p. 26.*

22 Hindu laity who follow the path indicated by the Brahman clergy

23 Cucak and kheras here represent the Hindu community.

24 The poet, not knowing the Sanskrit text of star calculations which

the Brahmans read, gives words that sound like it.

25 Engagement knot between Hir and Saida, the son of the kheri chief, but the poet here means the knot of falsehood or Hinduism.

26 Allusion to the Panjabi village treatment of an abscess. A cup is put next to it and the barber then applies the knife. Blood gushes out and falls into the cup. Here the sore heart of Hir or of the *Moman* is the abscess: the barber stands for her father and mother, i.e. the

Hindu Community, the knives for the order of the Brahmans, and the gushing blood or fountain for the reproaches of Hir or of Moman for their falsehood or Hindu faith.

27 The poet says that the Hindus invite the fires of hell by resting in Hinduism, and so it is not Islam that sends them there.

28 *M.M. 'Ali Haider*, p. 58. This poem, it appears, was written after the poet had seen a royal hunting party which included ladies of the royal court.

29 Hawks were of great help in hunting, in those days.

30 Dresses of red colour worn by women.

31 Salu is a red thick cloth used for making women's veils. This veil is considered to be auspicious.

32 Ladies of the king's harem who accompanied him to the hunt.

33 Note here the word *kartar* for God. It is a Hindu name for God, but mostly employed by the Sikhs.

34 *M.M. 'Ali Haider*, p. 1.

36 Satanic temptations.

37 This poem describes the invasion of Naidir in A.D. 1739.

38 *M.M. 'Ali Haider*, p. 40.

39 People of khurasan, a province of Persia.

40 *M.M. 'Ali Haider*, p. 9.

41 Shir in Persian means milk and shaker is sugar. Here the word shir-shakar has many meanings, as: sweet milk; union with the beloved; God ; peace; and also sweetness of lips.

42 The followers of Ganj Shakar distribute sugar on the fulfillment of their desires and vows.

43 *M.M. 'Ali Haider*, p. 1.

44 *M.M. 'Ali Haider*, p. 1

45 *ibid.*, p. 72.

46 *ibid.*, p. 72.

47 Be is unpleasant to Sufi who prefer only alif, so Haider compares the second letter of the alphabet to a sword.

48 *Alif* in Sufi language stands for God or Reality.

49 *Mim* to the mystics signifies Muhammad.

50 Ahmad is the real name of Muhammad, the Arabian prophet.

51 *M.M. 'Ali Haider*, p. 25.

52 The Beloved, Rajha, is poor and lives in a *jangal*, i.e. in the open country away from towns.

53 The impertinent counsel-gives will be thrown into a well.' This is a Panjabi expression meaning that no heed will be paid to what the unsought-for advisers say.

54 After the eyes have met, i.e. after love has been declared.

FARD FAQIR (A.D. 1720-90)

FARD FAQIR is generally known as Peril Fakir. No bio- graphy of the Sufi or the poets known to us contains any de scri ption of his life and beliefs. Oral tradition is also silent. It may be that in some secluded village of the Gujrat district there is some tradition relating to this Faqir, but our efforts have not had any success. Fard, nevertheless, gives enough information about himself in his works. Though he does not give the date of his birth, yet he tells us in *his Kaath-Nama Bafindgan* that he lived in the eighteenth century A.D.

*Yara sai trai satth barsa san nabi da aya
eh rasala kamil hoya humam dhurao aya. ¹*

The eleven hundred and sixty-third year of the Prophet's era has come, ² and this journal is complete according to the order that had come from the start.³

This shows that when he finished the book in A.H. 1163 (A.D. 1751) he would already have been a man of thirty or forty years. We do not mean to say that a man below this age was not allowed to write a book, but because as he had disciples when he wrote the *Kasab-Nama*, and the *kasab-Name* was written at the request of a weaver disciple.⁴ in all probability he had attained that age. A faqir cannot have disciples at an early age, because almost all his youth passes in study and in discipleship. We can therefore safely say that Fard Faqir lived, Preached, and died between the years A.D. 1720 and 1790.

He was a resident of the Gujrat district in the Panjab as is stated at the end of his *Bara- Mahl* ⁵ Whether he was an inhabitant of Gujrat, town or of some village in the district of Gujrat, it is impossible to say.

He was a Sufi as he reproaches those who are not true to their Sufi Professions:

Bahir bana sufia andar daga kamay. ⁶

Outside the guise of a Sufi and inside they earn deceit.

And again

*Mim mimo mull vakandi ajj fakiri hatt
Ikk paise di unn lai gall nu seli vat
Geri rang lai kapare khol sire de val
Frda lekha laisia rabb kadir jul jalal.* ⁷

Mim: the faqiri is sold today in the shop; buying one pice worth of wool (thread) the *seli* ⁸ is twisted round the neck; with *geri* ⁹ the clothes are coloured and the hair is let loose, Fard, the mighty radiant and glorious God will take account. ¹⁰

His title Faqir also indicates that he was a *dervish*. Fard was a Sufi of the popular school. From his own account it is clear that he was a *pir* of the lower classes such as the weavers and the barbers ¹¹ His imagination, his low and vulgar thought, so conspicuously shown in his *Roshan dil*, his lack of personality and his strong fanatic convictions so clearly manifest in his poetry, support our view.

The times during which he was born and lived and the political circumstances of the province were detrimental to the growth and development of art. Since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Panjab had been a stage for dis –

sensions, and from 1739 to 1770 it witnessed no peace at all. The invasion of Nadir in 1739, the successive raids of Ahmad Shah Durrani, the first of which began in 1748, and the desire of the provincial ruler to become independent Of both Durrani and the weak Mughal court at Delhi, all contributed to create trouble and confusion

This was an opportunity for the suppressed Sikhs, who began to assert themselves by devastating the country and thereby creating trouble for the rulers. The Marathas for a short while entered the arena and were proclaimed masters But the Maratha sovereignty dissatisfied Durrani who returned once more, The Marathas retired in 1761, but henceforward there was a constant state of war between the nominees of the Afghan and the rising Sikhs. It was only in 1770 that the Sikhs finally deposed and repulsed the Afghan officials and occupied the Panjab. It took them some years to establish a strong government in the province that had long been a prey to the ambitious of different claimants. Poetry naturally could not flourish in such a state of affairs. Nor could there exist amicable feelings and tolerance between members of the various communities certainly not in the followings of the popular *pirs*. These *pirs*, moreover, were often utilized to preach the ca of one or the other party. To protect themselves against the ever hostile *ulama* and to save themselves from the fury of the powerful they had to adhere to the cause of one of the contending parties. Their popular Sufiism therefore often turned into fanaticism Yet, in all fairness to them, it should be stated here that, in their private lives they tried to please and respect, as far as possible, the beliefs of people belonging to different religions in public they preached the beliefs of the Political party to which they gave allegiance, Fard was a Popular Sufi, the outcome of these circumstances, and therefore we can easily forgive him his fanaticism and other shortcomings.

Fard seems to have had a good knowledge of Arabic. His *Roshan Dil* abounds in words and quotations from the *Qur'an*. About his knowledge of Persian we do not know anything except that in his *Kasab-Nama Bafindgon* he says.

Nasar farsi nu chadd asa ne hindi nazam banaya. ¹²

Abandoning Persian prose we have made ¹³ it in Hindi poetry.

To him Panjabi was Hindi as it was the language of the Hindustanis or the Indians. ¹⁴ Whatever the name he gave to his mother-tongue, the above indicates that he was accustomed to write in Persian prose. ¹⁵ His Panjabi verse is more or less rustic in expression but lacks that sweet flavour which rustics impart to it. It is all a sort of *bait*

which is abrupt in itself. Its flow is not smooth; it is, however, powerful and emphatic.

The following are his works:

Bara-Mah or bara-masa. MSS. of this are very numerous and are found in different libraries and with private individuals. They differ slightly in minor details. These differences, occurring mostly in words, are due to the fact that the copyist was never the same person. Apart from this, they are all the same. There is one such MS. in the India Office Library. 189 Fard's *Bara-Mah* has many a time been published in the Pnnjab.

Siharfi. This is very popular with orthodox Mussulmans and the lower orders of the community and has had various editions.

Kasab-Nama Bafindgan, a treatise on the profession of weavers, was completed in 1751. This describes weaving

On spiritual lines, praises the weavers, and condemns the rulers who tyrannized over them. It was Published two or three times at various places in the Panjab. Of all the editions, the one published by the Muslim Steam Press, Labors, and also containing the other two works, the *Bar-Mah* and *Sihrafi* and entitled *Darya-e-Ma'rifat* ¹⁶ is the best. We have therefore utilized this for quotations.

Roshan Dil is a manual of instruction on dogmatic religious duties. The work is very popular and has been frequently publish. There are many MSS. Two are in the India Office Library' ¹⁷ In one of these the author is said to be Fard Faqir but in the second copy the scribe Murad 'Ali in the appended verses ascribes the authorship to Maulvi Abd-Allah. After a careful study of *Roshan Dil* we come to the conclusion that it could not have been written by an open-minded Sufi. We believe that, under stress of circumstance, Fard was either forced to claim authorship of this work or was made to write it There are two reasons for this belief.

First, that his name rarely occurs in it while in his *Siharfi*, *Bara-Mah* and *Kasab-Nama Bafindgan* his name occurs at the end of every few lines. *Second*, that in one place in the *Roshan Dil* he says:

*mai darda gall na akkhda mat maran ulmah,
ehse karan rakkhia farad bhed chupa.*¹⁸

For fear I do not say the matter, lest the 'ulama should kill me,
therefore Fard (says) I have kept the secret concealed.

Roshan Dil is a great favourite of the 'ulama, so the secret must have been considered great heresy, punishable by death, which the unfortunate poet could not freely express. These two facts therefore make us believe that either he was forced to write the book, or at least some parts of it, or he was compelled to accept its authorship. Of all the printed editions of the *Roshan Dil* the one published by Abdul Rashid is the only well-printed edition ;¹⁹ we have referred to it in these pages.

In his *Kasab-Nama Bafindgan* Fard tells us how the rulers at that time ill-treated the artisans. They exacted forced labour whenever it pleased them, without considering how the arts, crafts, and industry, and consequently the poor artisans, would suffer.

*Hokim ho ke bain galice bauhta zulam kamade
mehantia nu kami akkhan khun uhna da khade
phar vagary lai lai javan khauf khuda nahi
fard fakira dard manda dia ikk din pausan ahi
kasabia nu maihar mukaddam jabran cattu pade
bhar gariba da sir laike ape dozakh jade.*²⁰

Being rulers they sit on carpets²¹ and practise tyranny; artisans. They call menials and drink their blood. By force they take them to work without fearing God, Fard, the sufferer's sighs will fall on them one day.²² The artisans have (to pay) the first tax and they have to suffer this loss. Carrying the load of the poor on their heads²³ they (rulers) themselves go to hell.

Fard is very bitter against the Hindu *avatars* and goes out of his way to curse them:

*Jehre ism khudaye de, likkhe andar nass
uhe na bhulavana, ram kishan sir bhass.*²⁴

Those names of God which are written in the veins,²⁵ do not forget those, and ashes be on the head of Rama and Krishna.

A new convert to Islam is ever welcome among the Muhammadans, but he is looked down upon by those Muslims who uphold their pure Islamic origin, for his non Islamic descent. Considering him to be by origin a descendant of the *kafirs*, they sometimes give him the same treatment as is given to non-Muslim.²⁶ Fard, however, does not approve of this and advises them to be more benignant:

*Jo koi kindu ayke hove musalman
mai na ghannan os da na kar bura guman
kaid na karna katal bhi adios iman
bajho hujat shara de diyo na azar.*²⁷

Any Hindu who comes and becomes a Mussulman, do not take away his wealth nor harbour evil thought, do not imprison or slay him, for faith has brought him (to Islam); without the permit of the *shari'at* do not give (him) trouble.

In spite of his orthodox beliefs, Fard could not help believing in the *karina* and he often enjoins upon his followers the duty of doing good actions. One specimen will suffice here:

*Ghain garurat na karo, rovo dhai mar
bajho amala cangia kaun langhasi par
chadd dunia de vahde kaul khuda da bhal
farad lekha laisia rabb kadir jul jalal.*²⁸

(*Ghain*: do not bear pride but wail bitterly²⁹ instead, (because) without good actions who will see you across ? I Abandoning the prosperity of the world understand the word of God. Fard, the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.

In the following he speaks like a free Sufi:

*Sin sunaye khalak nu kar kar masale roz
Loka de nasihata andar tere cor
Ki hoye je laddia gadha kitaba nal
Farad lekha laisia rabb kadir jul jalal*³⁰

Sin: you preach to the public, treating problem after problems ³¹ each day, (you) give instructions to others and inside *you* is the thief; ³² what avails it if the ass is loaded with books? Fard, the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.

Here Fard Faqir demonstrates his anxiety to hide his knowledge of things:

*Zal zikar khuday da nakar zahir khalak dikhay
Andar kart tun bundgi bahar parda pay
Mul na veci ilam nu na kar kisse saval
Farad lekha laisia rabb kadir jul julal.* ³³

Zal: discuss not God openly showing to the public; inside (in the heart) you should pray to Him and outside put the veil ; ³⁴ do not in the least sell your knowledge nor question any person. Fard, the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.

Such pious ideas of the poet are strikingly in harmony with his repeated orthodox injunctions. With all his prejudices against the *kafirs* (Hindus), Fard did not hesitate to state the efficacy of the *pandits*' knowledge with regard to the future, as:

Mai vedi pas parosia nit pucchdi pandit joshia. ³⁵

I see near ones and neighbours and ever consult the *pandits* and *jotashis* (astrologers).

Again:

Rahi dhund kitaba phol ke sabh pothi pandat khol ke. ³⁶

I am engaged in search, turning over the books and opening all the *pothis* ³⁷ of the *pundits*

The following verse depicts well how the very popular Sufi imagines his union with the Beloved:

Ajj hovan lef nihalia kol niyamat bharia thalia
Bauhnal payare khaviye, hor mushk gulab lagaviye. ³⁸

Today (there) should be covers and mattresses ³⁹ and plates full of rare preparations sitting with the Beloved should I eat (them) and should apply the scent of roses.

1 Darya-e-ma'rifat, p. 13.

2 Has begun

3 From eternity or God.

4 Darya-e-Ma'rifat, p. 6.

5 *Darya-e-'Ma'rifat*, p. 24.

6 *ibid.*, p. 1.

7 *ibid.*, p. 3.

8 seli is a twisted woolen thread tied round the neck of the Sufis, especially the popular ones, to indicate that they are mystics. The Sufis in India do not put on woolen clothes. Seli is a remnant of the woolen garment.

9 Soft red stone, used as a dye.

10 Explanation for hypocrisy practiced to deceive fellow human beings.

11 Darya-e-Ma'rifat, p. 6.

12 Darya-e-Ma'rifat, p. 5.

13 ' Have written it.

14 Mussulman writers of the Panjab often called Panjabi, Hindi. It might be that originally it was called Hindi but later on when the language of Dehli and of the United Provinces was called Hindi it came to be termed Panjabi. Muslim tradition however, continued to call it Hindi.

15 We have not seen anything by him in this language.

16 MS. D, Fol. 7.

17 Allah vale ki kaumi Dukan, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

18 MS. D, Fol. 44 and Fol. 77.

19 Roshan Dil, p. 23

20 Feroz Printing Works, Lahore.

21 *Darya-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 9.

22 *Galica* is a Persian carpet.

23 The sighs will invite evil for the rulers.

24 Accompanied by the curse of the poor.

24 *Roshan Dil*, p. 10.

25 The ordinary simple-minded Panjabi Muslim *faqirs* of all denominations believe that the Islamic names of God, being true, are written inside the veins of man and so he should repeat them.

26 Major Abbott puts this Muslim sentiment clearly: All converts to Islam are ashamed of that page which preceded their conversion. They cannot bear to think themselves the sons of Kawfurs (infidels). As the Strongest expression of scorn is not "you dog" but "you son or grandson

or great grand of a dog “, so to be a remote grandson of a Kawfur is more terrible to an Asiatic than to be merely himself a Kawfur.’ (*Journal Of the Asiatic Society*, Vol XXIII, 1854

27 *Roshan Dil*, p. 8

28 *Darya-e-Ma’rifat*, p. 3.

29 Wailing for not having acted rightly.

30 *Darya-e-Ma’rifat*, p. 2.

31 The problems of religion from the sacred texts.

32 Inside you is mischief installed.

33 *Darya-e-Ma’rifat*, p. 2.

34 The veil of orthodox beliefs which were established at the time.

35 *Darya-e-Ma’rifat*, p.10

36 *ibid.* p. 18

37 The books of the Hindus in *nagari* scri pt are generally called pothis.

38 *Darya-e-Ma’rifat*, p.22.

39 Spread on the bed and elsewhere in honour of the Beloved.

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